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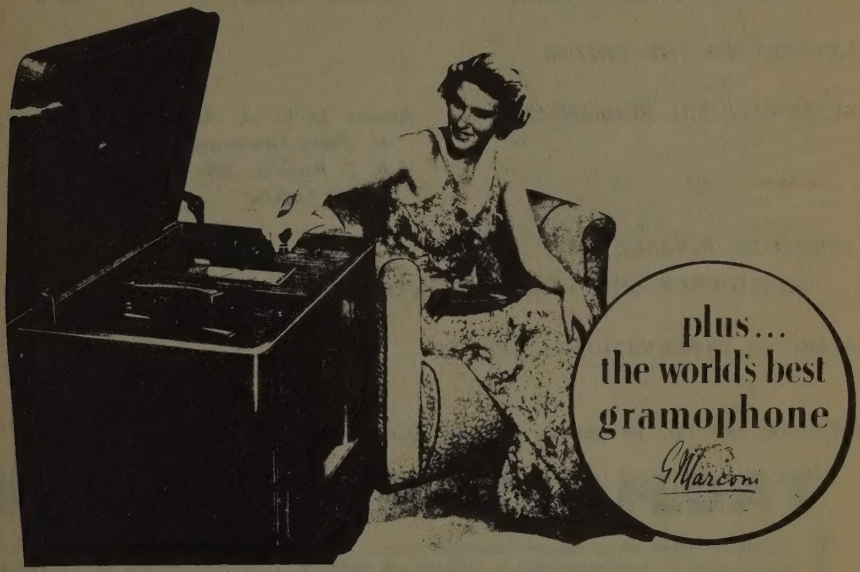

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THE NATIONS TO SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

CHINA VIEW

by VERNON BARTLETT

TO see European affairs in their true perspective you want to travel to the farther end of the world ; then, if you are British, you will almost wish that you had not done so. This article is written in that extraordinarily beautiful colony of Hong Kong. A few miles from its lochs and hills Japanese battleships keep their sinister watch. Up the Pearl River, which is its life-line to the interior of China, Japanese gunboats dart to and fro seeking to discourage trade by any means which will not compel the British to fight, however anxious they are to avoid it. You can motor out along admirable mountain roads across the Leased Territories to play golf at Fanling, and, unless driving and putting hold your attention to the exclusion of everything else, all the time you may hear the sound of bombing as the Japanese try to destroy the British-owned Canton-Hong Kong railway just across the Chinese border. People bravely or blindly carry on with their business, their horse-races, their social functions as though there were no war in progress to make the existence of their colony an anomaly which, without a very drastic change in British foreign policy, will not be allowed to last for many more years.

When you fly from Southampton to Hong Kong you pass over many areas where the British have left their mark. The result is occasionally comical—as when you discover a good old red British

pillar box, G.R. monogram and all, at a street corner, in some incredibly overcrowded and colourful street in Hong Kong or Colombo. Often it is impressive, teaching you a new respect for the thousands of men who have given up their whole working lives to international public service which is just as important to the human race as it would be if it were carried out under the flag of the League of Nations instead of the Union Jack. Sometimes it is humiliating, for of those thousands there is a percentage of men who are so lacking in understanding that they have no right to exert authority over other men. But the final impression, I think, is one of relief that things are not very much worse. I know now that I should consider the disappearance of the British Empire as a serious blow to civilisation.

The Empire's Salvation

And yet that Empire, if it is saved, will be saved only with the help of those very elements which have appeared most anxious to disrupt it in the past. Its salvation will depend upon the extent to which it has passed on its ideas of personal freedom and democracy to its subject peoples or to those other peoples, such as the Chinese and the Egyptians, which it has sought by war or diplomacy to bring into virtual subjection. Not so many years ago the British Government exiled the veteran leader of Egyptian nationalism, Zaglul Pasha, although Egypt was nominally an independent state. Now this acute nationalism is becoming rather a safeguard of, than a threat to, the British Empire, for the Wafd party is less likely than any other in Egypt to make an agreement with Italian Fascism.

In the same way, if you fly over Canton you will see one small area near the river which seems empty when compared with the overcrowded jumble elsewhere in the city. This is Shameen, the British and French Concession, and while air raids are carried out all round the outskirts, the inhabitants of Shameen carry on with their tennis or their football as though they were in some London suburb. Even to-day their chief anxiety is lest, in the event of serious raids on the city itself by Japanese bombers, the panic-stricken Chinese should rush the gates and force their way into the relative safety of the Concession. And yet there are now few Englishmen in China who would not feel more secure had their predecessors given the Chinese more help towards decent and democratic government, for

the Chinese are called upon to fight troops whose leaders openly boast of their desire to destroy the British Empire.

China's Chances and the Foreigners'

The Chinese may—I believe, will—come better out of the struggle than the Japanese, for Japan, though much more developed economically than China, is much more backward socially. But the outlook for British and other western interests is as black as it could be. There is as yet no sign of a movement against the " foreign devils " —but almost inevitably it will arise. Even without it, there now seems to be only the choice between two alternatives. Either Japan will win, and nobody here shares that naïve belief you sometimes hear expressed at home, namely that the Japanese will maintain the principle of the " open door." Or, China will hold out until Japan, in order to avoid collapse, has to make a peace which leaves the Chinese government in control of all or nearly all its former territories. But the important fact is that even such a settlement would in no way mean a restoration of the *status quo ante.* China was not given time to unite itself sufficiently to withstand the disruptive effects of a long war. To some extent the Japanese attack has led to a remarkable burying of personal and ideological rivalries. Communists' leaders fight side by side with the Kwangsi generals who were formerly their bitterest opponents. Troops have come from all over China to help against the invader.

So far so good, but it is universally agreed that China's only chance of wearing the Japanese out is to revert to guerrilla warfare in order to harass their lines of communication to breaking-point. In other words, there is to be a reversal of that policy of centralising military power. Little local generals are again to be encouraged to carry on warfare on their own. Some of them will do so against the Japanese but others will find a return to brigandage the easier way. That is the tragedy of China. The most populous nation in the world has progressed by amazing strides in the last ten years ; in order to remain a nation that progress must be wasted.

The outlook is perhaps not so black as all that for the Chinese, for under the stress of war the process of building new roads and railways—the necessary forerunners to national unity—is being accelerated. A good deal of public health service should survive any

impending dark age. But one sees no brightening of the horizon for the foreigner, for he must anticipate something else besides a return to power of those military governors to whom he has become so accustomed in the past. It is the opinion of serious Chinese leaders that the youth of the nation will turn more and more to Fascism or Communism, neither of which would appreciate the presence in their country of the representatives of foreign capitalism.

British Government's Poor Tactics

The situation would have been very different had the British government shown any of the firmness and courage shown by many European individuals out here—the doctors and missionaries who remained in Nanking and whose protests against the worst atrocities of any modern war have helped to lessen them and have led to the recall of General Matsui to Japan ; the unknown sea captains who have carried on with their jobs despite intimidation by Japanese warships and doubts about the extent to which they would be backed up from Whitehall if they got into trouble.

The Government, we are told, could not show that courage because Mussolini threatened war. But is it seriously imagined that he would go to war rather than clear out of Spain ? Alternatively, is it seriously imagined that, if he attaches so much importance to his Spanish adventure that he would rather go to war than abandon it, he will prove amenable in Anglo–Italian negotiations ? The British Government had all the best cards ; its knowledge of poker appears to be less than that of a student from a theological college in a Chicago gambling den.

Abyssinia, Spain and China are all members of the League. Whether at least one of them was really entitled to join under the conditions of Article I of the Covenant is a question one may discuss until eternity, and it does not matter two pins. They *were* elected and they thus became as fully entitled to benefit by the rules as do members of any other club. There can be no organised society if its regulations are disowned and disobeyed by members of the committee whenever some non-member begins to bluster and bully. It now becomes apparent that these blustering non-members are to receive the advantages of the club, in the form of assistance from its richest members, while members who have abided fully by the rules

are to be their victims. That is the decision of the British Government, and it is a decision which confesses absolute disbelief in the possibility of an organised international society.

The news of Anthony Eden's resignation came when I was in Hankow, the temporary headquarters of all the departments of the Chinese Government actively engaged in carrying on the war. That a man who was known all over the world as a defender of the League of Nations should be driven to resign in order that the British Government might hurry on its conversations with Italy and Germany a few hours after Herr Hitler had come out openly on the side of the Japanese aggressor, was a severe blow to the Chinese. General Chiang Kai-shek, the Premier, the Foreign Minister, and others, were anxious and puzzled. They would dearly like an Anglo–Italian settlement which would enable the British Empire to show more active interest in the China Seas, but they did not understand how peace in Europe was to come from negotiations which began because Signor Mussolini threatened war more openly than usual. And I, since I understood no better than they, could find no nice argument to convince them that Great Britain still stood for decency and order in international relations.

"Just a drop more gentlemen, to put out the fire!"

"La République," Paris.

AT THE CROSSROADS

By a Diplomatic Correspondent.

PROFESSIONAL diplomats are asking themselves the anguished question whether, confronted with the rape of Austria and the prospect of further German aggression in south-east Europe, the British Government have any policy at all. Rearmament alone is not a policy ; nor is a mere willingness to converse ; but worst of all would be an amiable adherence to illusions that have proved themselves once and for ever false.

The Chamberlain–Halifax orientation, which led to the squeezing out of Mr. Eden, may roughly be summarised thus : To cut through the web of mistrust, which will eventually enmesh us in a war, we must make direct offers of friendship to the dictators. The Eden–Vansittart–Foreign Office conception was, on the other hand, that, unless the dictators showed signs of receiving offers in the spirit in which they were made, it was best to keep one's mouth shut and re-arm. Since the new policy came fully into play, one of the dictators, with the connivance of the other, has dishonoured a pledge and occupied a cognate, but entirely independent land with armed force. A few days before the British Press had received a tactful hint as to the desirability of curbing their tongues about Herr Hitler. Yet, only in February, the *Führer* is believed to have made it plain to Sir Nevile Henderson, our Germanophile Ambassador in Berlin, that the unconditional restitution of all the lost colonies was required by German honour and could in no way prejudice German claims in Europe. Again M. Flandin, when he saw Herr Hitler in December, is said to have been bluntly told that, unless France agreed to colonial concessions, Germany, in direct contradiction to the promise given after the Saar plebiscite, would again raise the question of Alsace-Lorraine.

The Foreign Secretary's Awakening

Knowing all this, Lord Halifax still did everything he could to meet Germany on her own terms. It may be that this gambler's throw will stand to our credit in the moral dossier piled ready for the next war ; from any practical point of view it was futile. The

full tawdriness of German honour must have shocked Lord Halifax to the core as soon as he realised that, at the moment that the German Foreign Minister was in London trying to ensure that his instructions for muzzling the British Press were carried out, the Austrian *coup* was on the eve of fulfilment.

Italy on the Fence

The Italian role has been obscure. But it is clear that Italy's commitments elsewhere have forced her, however reluctantly, to abandon any say in the fate of Central Europe. As a sop, Germany will not raise the question of the 212,000 German-speaking inhabitants in the Italian South Tyrol ; far more important is the report of her having sent reinforcements in the shape of aircraft, guns and munitions to General Franco in Spain. How can all this improve the atmosphere in which the Anglo–Italian conversations are being held ? Obviously Italy is in an uneasy position with the full weight of Germany just across the Brenner ; presumably she is all the more anxious to assure her Mediterranean and Red Sea communications through an understanding with Britain ; but to desert Germany altogether would mean the re-opening in a painful form of the South Tyrol problem and, in a war, the probable occupation of Trieste. We can be sure of this only : Italy will continue sitting on the fence, and, if we make her any substantial concession, it will but increase her power, should she, in the time of crisis, opt for our enemies.

The Pyrenean Frontier

General Franco's victorious drive in Aragon has brought vividly before French minds the dangers of a Fascist Spain, subservient in foreign policy to the Berlin–Rome axis. People do not talk much about the German " volunteers," because they are relatively few in number ; but gradually and unobtrusively they are gaining control of the key positions in the structure of a Nationalist Spain which they have no intention of leaving. Even if the Italians are unpopular, how could a weak Spain deny them the use of any Mediterranean bases they may demand ? The French, who feel that their pledge to Czechoslovakia might be invalidated if they had to defend the Pyrenean as well as their eastern frontier, incline towards the military occupation of some Spanish territory, to last as long as the Germans

and Italians themselves stay in Spain ; such a move would have the added advantage of making conditions impossible for the British Government to continue their *badinage* in Rome, which they are naturally reluctant to break off of their own accord. But the Blum Government is too weak to command respect either here or in France ; if only the French Right will participate in the formation of a strong National Government, energetic action, which Britain would tacitly support, might at last be expected. There are many former upholders of General Franco in Whitehall who realise, nearly two years too late, the value of Republican Spain.

Germany's Aims

Before the Austrian coup, Germany offered Czechoslovakia a pact on the usual terms : abrogation of the Soviet Treaty, virtual autonomy for the Sudeten-Germans and one of Herr Hitler's guarantees of independence. The Czechs had much to gain from accepting; Germany used to be their best customer, Austria their second best ; yet trade considerations did not prevent M. Benes and M. Hodza from turning the bribe down. But the offer will again and again be renewed with ever-increasing pressure from Berlin.

At one time it was feared that the French people would not march for Czechoslovakia at the bidding of their Government. But any direct attack on that country, or even assistance for an artificially stimulated civil war, would make the French pledge a potential menace to Germany ; Herr Hitler would have to order a general mobilisation and the most backward peasant in Brittany would know what that meant. If Germany is wise, she will therefore try to lull suspicion by gradually isolating Czechoslovakia rather than to crush her by force. One of the lessons which the last war taught Germany was the need of securing her supplies. In return for promising to support Hungary's frontier claims, she can probably assure herself Hungarian grain : how long will Rumania keep her vast oil reserves out of German clutches ? Greece is already ruled by a pro-German dictator ; would Bulgaria or Jugoslavia be able to stand aside ? When Czechoslovakia finally gave way, Germany, having protected her rear with a ring of vassal states, would be in a position to turn and perhaps make good the Nazi war song *Siegreich wollen wir Frankreich schlagen* (*We wish to strike a victorious blow at France*). And

the threat includes the British Empire.

The Next Step

In 1914 it was thought worth a world war to prevent German domination of the Continent. There are those who sympathise with the Nazi aim of gathering together all the German-speaking people in Europe, even if they have never in history formed part of the Reich ; some believe that the condition for a British pledge to Czechoslovakia should be the handing over to the Nazis of the Sudeten-Germans, living as they do along the mountainous frontier which alone keeps Germany from military domination of all eastern Europe; a well-meaning handful imagine that, as Germany becomes more satisfied, her demands will be progressively more reasonable. Such folly takes no account of German psychology, of our experience during the past few years, or of the historical conceptions that the balance of power in Europe is essential to British security.

Czechoslovakia has not embarrassed us by asking for a direct pledge ; but, if France had to implement hers, we could not keep clear of the conflict. The one method of assuring peace which was not tried in 1914 was a declaration by Britain of the intentions which she would inevitably be obliged to carry out. Any attack on a European democracy is now a vital interest to us, or we shall see all our potential allies knocked out *seriatim* and have ourselves to fight in isolation. It is known in well-informed quarters that our one chance of salvation lies in making clear to Germany that we will give France military support in whatever action she is called on to take on behalf of her allies ; also that we are in no state of preparation to sustain a war at all. It may be hard for the elder members of our Cabinet to understand a situation which demands national service and an extension of our European commitments ; they may be conceded a little time before taking the momentous decision which conscription involves ; but, unless they take it, they risk assuming in history the role of professional and perfunctory mourners at the graveside of democracy.

STOP PRESS

Brown leather sandals, exact replicas of those worn by the Tibetan monks will be seen on the beaches this summer.—*Evening Standard, London.*

SALZPURGE FESTIVAL

The Salzburg Festival Committee announces that it has proved impossible to induce Toscanini to change his decision not to come to Salzburg to conduct this year—News item.

The Festival Committee under brand new management
Announce by ultimatum their decision to present
A *Wesselfest* as Nazi Salzburg's premier event.

By no artistic sabotage immorally delayed,
The programme will be rendered by the army on parade
To the martial obbligato of a distant cannonade.

Goering practises the cornet and the High Command prepare
A new *Horst Wessel* Goose-Step, heard in attitudes of prayer,
And *Horst Wessel* Variations on the *Londonderry Air*.

Himmler's *Missa Masochista*, with the Hess *Horst Wessel* Suite,
A Triangle Concerto, Ribbentrop's orchestral feat,
A Czech Overture (Unfinished) will the Festival complete.

Vienna's music-makers have been driven from the hall,
For a purge provides the prelude to Horst Wessel's Festival
Where the absence of musicians will not be remarked at all.

The audience invited have accepted to a man—
A brace of British peers, some music-lovers from Japan,
And Maestro Mussolini, a pronounced *Horst Wessel* fan.

Ovation, encores and critiques already have been planned,
And bowing to the overwhelming popular demand
All-Europe's *Kapellmeister* by decree will lead the band.

REYNARD.

CASUALTY

On the road from Kiel to Eckernförde a lean little pig was found which had a slip of paper pinned to it, reading: "Died of the four-year plan."—"*Germany To-day*," *London*.

FOREIGN BODIES

by FLOODLIGHT

All the world likes to read gossip about other people. The little human eccentricities that lurk behind the imposing figures officially presented to the world are seldom known. These personal notes aim at giving flesh and blood to the men whose names appear so often in our political articles

Youth at the Helm

THE German invasion of Austria has brought an unhappy close to the career of an eminent statesman and European, Dr. Kurt von Schuschnigg. His book *Dreimal Osterreich* which appeared last autumn, will remain as a lasting memorial to his understanding, balance and political honesty.

The fate of Austria has more than once been in the hands of young leaders. Metternich was at the head of affairs at the age of 36 ; Dollfuss was 41 when he became Chancellor ; his successor and spiritual heir, Dr. Schuschnigg, was not quite 37 when he took over the reins of government in July, 1934.

Cradled in War

Very little was known abroad of the pale, bespectacled young man with the mop of greyish hair who was called upon to step into the shoes of the murdered Chancellor. But in Austria, Dr. von Schuschnigg bore a well-known name ; he came of a military family and his grandfather, an artillery General of some renown, had earned the nickname of " the Thunderer." The boy, Kurt, also began his studies with a view to a military career ; he was educated at the Jesuit college, *Stella Matutina*, where sons of the Austrian nobility and gentry were prepared for the eventual assumption of the Imperial uniform. The war broke out and, before passing his final exams, Schuschnigg enlisted as a volunteer. Decorated several times for bravery, he was finally taken prisoner by British troops on the Isonzo in 1918 ; his father, a General, shared the same fate.

First Steps in Politics

On returning to Austria, Schuschnigg set up as a lawyer in Innsbruck. His first impulse to enter politics was inspired by Mgr.

Seipel, the great leader of the Christian-Social party. The young man had already made a name for himself by his ability, and his upbringing marked him out for the fight against Social-Democracy. In April, 1924, Dr. Schuschnigg, then aged 29, was first elected Deputy with the aid of Seipel. Very few months afterwards his wide legal knowledge brought him the appointment of permanent Chairman to the Justice and Budget Commissions. With the formation of the Buresh Government he obtained his first Cabinet post as Minister of Justice.

Another young man of the same devout and patriotic mould was the Minister of Agriculture, Engelbert Dollfuss. The two became fast friends. When Dollfuss became Chancellor, Dr. Schuschnigg remained in charge of the Department of Justice and, soon after, became Minister of Public Instruction as well.

The Dolfuss Murder

In July, 1934, the first Nazi *coup d'état* ended in the Chancellor's murder. The question immediately arose whether Austria could maintain her independence now that the mainspring of that policy was gone. President Miklas called upon Dr. Schuschnigg to form the new Government because his intimacy with Dollfuss had given him special insight into the latter's views. If there was to be continuity of policy, only Schuschnigg could assure it.

The new Chancellor's first task was to bring about the largest possible measure of internal unity. The ambitious, stupid, impetuous Vice-Chancellor, Prince Starhemberg who, at great personal cost, had organised the Heimwehr, was a thorn in his side ; Dr. Schuschnigg succeeded by adroit manoeuvering in squeezing him out and in consolidating his own " Fatherland Front." The next question was how to present Austria with some rallying point which could prove an effective counter-attraction to either the Swastika or the Red Flag. Archduke Otto was the only possible solution.

Monarchy's Last Chance

It is true that Dr. Schuschnigg believed the destinies of Germany and Austria to be intermingled ; he has been heard to describe contingents of the " Fatherland Front " as " Ostmarkische Sturmscharen," referring thereby to Austria's role as the eastern defender of a greater German Empire ; but at no time since the war has he thought union between the two countries opportune.

The move to restore Otto, which he himself supported, was for a long time checked by the *non possumus* attitude of Italy, Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia ; but last year the negotiations between the Austrian Government and Baron Wiesner, the agent of the Imperial family, who is now under arrest, nearly came to a head. However, the ex-Empress Zita proved too grasping on behalf of her son ; rumour even put her claims as approximating the total wealth of the Austrian Republic.

Nazis' New Broom

With Austria reduced to the status of a German Province, the Governor, or " Reichs-Statthalter," is Dr. Arthur von Seyss-Inquart. His inclusion in the Austrian Cabinet at Herr Hitler's request first showed which way the wind was blowing. But, although well known in Austria to have German sympathies and to favour the *Anschluss*, he was not then believed to be a thorough-going Nazi ; Herr Hitler's coup brought him out in his true colours.

"Marianne" *Paris*

"YOUR MOVE, MUSSO !"

A clever composite photograph from a French weekly. Included in the background are President Roosevelt, Mr. Eden, M. Delbos, Dr. Schuschnigg and M. Litvinoff.

Dr. von Seyss-Inquart, who is 46 years old, is by origin a Sudeten-German and his native town of Stannern is now in Czechoslovakia. His childhood was thus spent in a pleasant district of forest and rolling pasture, where, amongst his earliest friends, he counted several future leaders of Germanism. Such were Rudolf Jung, the Nazi, Strobl, the poet, and Dr. Sebekovsky and Herr Wannemacher of the Sudeten-German party, with which Dr. von Seyss-Inquart has remained in permanent sympathy.

The Greater Germany

Fighting with the Kaiserjäger Regiment on the Isonzo front during the war, Dr. von Seyss-Inquart won four decorations and was severely wounded in the leg. Shortly afterwards, as a law student, he came into contact with the young Schuschnigg and, although himself a " Grossdeutscher," that is to say a believer in the union of all the German peoples, kept in constant touch with the young Christian-Social leader. But his own development led only too naturally towards the Nazi camp.

As a lawyer, he built up a big commercial practice in Vienna and also founded an organisation for the furtherance of the *Anschluss* idea. Chancellor Schober's scheme for a Customs Union with Germany is said to have owed a great deal to his inspiration.

Exit Austria

No lover of town life, Dr. von Seyss-Inquart spends his week-ends with his family in a little house near Vienna. Although his wound prevents him from undertaking the more difficult Alpine tours, he is nevertheless still very fond of climbing. Otherwise his interest is centred in his garden, where his tall, slim figure can be seen limping round on most Sunday afternoons. He has a taste for philosophy, shared by his brother, Dr. Richard von Seyss-Inquart, who is the director of a model reformatory outside Vienna.

There is no denying a certain consistency about Dr. von Seyss-Inquart's career and, if his aim was, with the aid of the *Führer's* armoured cars and marching battalions, to submerge his country for good under a wave of Nazidom, there can be no doubt that he has succeeded.

THE OPEN FORUM

IDEALISTS AT SEA

by ADMIRAL SIR BARRY DOMVILE, K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G.

In this section we publish, without necessarily sharing the views they express, articles by men of international fame. Admiral Domvile is a distinguished expert on naval strategy. Among the posts which he has held—apart from his various commands—are those of President of the Royal Naval College, Greenwich, and Director of Naval Intelligence

THE world is crazy : worse than that, it is absurd. All countries arming wildly, whilst protesting peace furiously. The student of international politics has every excuse for getting lost in the maze of theories surrounding him. Everyone is seeking anxiously for the same thing—a lasting peace. Everyone has his own specific for achieving this end. The result is, to say the least, curious.

Most of the Societies founded with peaceful objects are banded together, shouting lustily for sanctions and war—" not a real war of course "—just a little war, a dear little baby Mars, just big enough to make sanctions effective.

The League of Nations Union, the Council for Peace and Reconstruction, the Teachers' Anti-War Movement and other estimable bodies are working together in an International Peace Campaign whose object is to boycott Japan.

On the other hand, the soldiers and seamen, who might pardonably be expected to hold a more militant outlook than Lord Cecil and his friends, view with apprehension their mischievous activities.

Blinded by their idealism, they advocate a policy which is not only impractical in execution but also harmful to our interests : they get very angry when they are told so. Epithets such as Fascist (that covers a multitude of sins) and Pacifist are hurled reproachfully at the

misguided fighting men. Have our warriors lost their native courage? Perish the thought. Give them a lead. Forward the Pen and Ink Brigade. So off they dash again, Professor Gilbert Murray still in the van, though possibly a trifle subdued after the well-merited snub recently administered to him by Mr. Cordell Hull, when the Professor was trying to interpret American foreign policy according to the Murray and not the Monroe doctrine.

> "*Away, away, away we go*
> *And where we go, we don't quite know*
> *But where we go, we go away.*"

The sanction seekers are strangely reminiscent of Mr. Robert Hale's pre-war hunting ditty quoted above. They have not the remotest notion of the vast implications and repercussions of the course they advocate. They are obsessed by a desire for blind vengeance against Japan. The hunt is up.

And what of the quarry of this ill-assorted pack—the Boycott or Embargo. Presumably even Lord Cecil would not wish to adopt a line of action which would result in more harm to the British Empire than to Japan. And yet this result is highly probable if his wishes are fulfilled. Unfortunately, it is not possible to forecast the exact ramifications of any drastic economic policy. If it were, the Boycotters would in all likelihood be ruled out of court at once. Undoubtedly, unemployment here would be heavy in many trades engaged in manufactures for Japan, as well as in those dependent on Japanese raw materials.

But apart from the direct results of the boycott, Japan would be amply justified in a retaliatory policy on any British interests she could lay her hands on in both China and Japan. A boycott is a hostile act: it is merely a question of degree. To embark upon a policy unless prepared to see it through to the bitter end, is of no earthly use.

It is inconceivable that we could remain idle and watch our interests being ruthlessly exploited without raising a finger to defend them. The logical outcome of a boycott is war. If its advocates are not prepared to face this prospect, let them hold their peace now. Threats and bluffs are of no avail when dealing either with dictators close at hand, or with a government at the other end of the world. When, in spite of all warnings, these methods are attempted, they fail ignominiously, with a heavy loss of prestige. All the League's most

dismal failures have resulted from a lack of comprehension of these elementary facts. There is no half-way house in coercive measures. Once applied, reprisals will result and the opponents will progress on a crescendo wave of hostile action, till a full-blown state of hostilities is reached. To imagine anything else is simply to delude oneself.

For the sake of argument let us suppose that the idealists have worked up such a strong—if muddled—feeling throughout the country, that the Government of the day feels compelled to endorse this wave of democratic emotion and go to war. Incidentally, this is the moment where the leaders get off. If Lord Cecil, Professor Gilbert Murray, Mr. Attlee and Co. were actually going to the war, I should have been the last to raise a protest. Everybody has a right to die for his own beliefs. But this will not be the case. My sons, and the sons

"Don't worry, it's only an ordinary disturbance in the Cabinet."

"Kladderadatsch," Berlin.

of many another like me, would be expected to fight for these half-baked theories. The generals and admirals would take the stage and survey ruefully their formidable task.

It is one thing to make war near home where the distances to be travelled are small and where forces can be quickly and easily reinforced or replaced. In all our big campaigns in the past the enemy has had the consideration to be reasonably close. Spain, Holland and France—gallant foes of former days, and Germany in recent years, have all been comparatively handy.

It is a very different matter to make war successfully at the other side of the world. No experience is available, but it does not require a great deal of imagination to realise the immensity of the problem.

Aims of Naval Strategy

Naval strategy, unless intended to be limited to an affair of outposts working on tip-and-run principles and producing inconsiderable results, demands the presence of the battle fleet, the spear-head of naval warfare. Behind the protection of the battleships the smaller classes of war vessels carry out the more active duties of keeping the seas clear for the use of our own merchant shipping and transports, whilst at the same time denying them to the enemy for their purposes. These are always the objects of naval strategy.

To function effectively the battle fleet must be based in a position close to the enemy fleet's base, so as to intercept the latter before it can get busy on the lines of communication to the rear. In the present instance our fleet must lie near the coasts of Japan.

The modern battle fleet cannot exist without a properly equipped naval base at which ships can be docked and refitted. In these days of huge battleships requiring monster docks and heavy engineering plant to keep them in good fettle, the naval base has become an even more specialised affair.

At the end of the Great War there was no base in the Far East capable of dealing with a modern fleet. All our efforts had been concentrated at home.

One of the first important government decisions in post-war naval policy was to commence the magnificent base at Singapore which has recently been opened. A fleet stationed here covers the eastern flank of the British Empire from attack by Japan. No enemy fleet could

afford to advance against India, New Zealand or Australia whilst leaving intact a fleet at Singapore on its own lines of communication.

But Singapore is only a defensive base. A base for offensive purposes against Japan would have to be established nearly three thousand miles further to the north-ward. Nobody in their senses would embark upon war against Japan unless in a position to attack her sea communications close home. To declare a boycott against Japan and then sit down on the defensive at Singapore would only be a lingering form of suicide that no strategist would contemplate. All our important interests in China would be left open to legitimate attack by Japan.

To create an advanced base near Japan on the coasts or in the islands of China would demand the presence of the fleet to cover the occupation and defence of the position. To carry out a delicate operation of this nature twelve thousand miles from home would entail the despatch of a very large fleet to the Far East. It would have to be much larger than the whole Japanese Navy because strategy demands that at any given moment it must be possible for the fleet to put to sea in at least as great strength as the enemy. The Japanese could choose their own moment as they would be working near home, and would obviously select an occasion when their fleet was at full strength.

Our fleet could never be in a similar condition. There would always be ships away doing the periodical docking necessary for retention of speed, or the other refitting and repair operations so essential to a fleet's efficiency. And these ships would have to travel more than five thousand miles on their journey to and fro.

Entire British Fleet Required

Without going into detail, the course advocated by the boycotters would demand the presence of the whole British Fleet. There would be no other naval forces available. The League—or half a League as it is now—has none worth mentioning. The American fleet would remain safely on the wrong side of the Pacific in spite of Dr. Gilbert Murray's ardent enticements. The American people are hard-headed and wise. The same cannot be said for the boycott boosters.

What an awkward predicament for a British Government. There could be no trouble in the Far East unaccompanied by repercussions

nearer home, especially with the present dangerous "line-up" of the Powers in two opposing groups, with the totalitarian states enjoying a degree of collective security which has successfully eluded its sponsors at Geneva.

Could any responsible government be expected to despatch the whole fleet to the Far East leaving our shores at the mercy of any prowling naval wolf? Indeed, it is highly probable that the same pens which had been so vigorously advocating the chastisement of Japan would be the first to object to such a risk to their own safety.

After all, security, like charity, begins at home—even at Chelwood Gate. And the fleet would be so very far away—with those tiresome Italians too on its lines of communication. The Government would be guided by common sense and popular clamour.

So out would go some poor devil of an admiral with a fleet totally inadequate for his task, and with nothing to sustain him except the blessing of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the warm woollen comforts against the winter's cold in the Tsushima Straits, provided by enthusiastic female supporters of sanctions. ("That's a much nicer word than boycott, my dear, it sounds so really righteous. And after all the dear Archbishop did give them *his* sanction at the Albert Hall.")

Even supposing the impossible happened and the whole fleet was sent, that would not win the war. Fleets cannot win wars by themselves. They can bring a certain amount of maritime pressure to bear, but not sufficient to cause a determined foe to capitulate. It is extremely unlikely that Japan would be cut off from the mainland across the Sea of Japan, so great is her geographical advantage there. A vast army would be needed to defeat Japan on land, and it would have to remain for many years to see the terms of peace properly executed.

Moral of the Tale

Have the boycotters thought of all this? Are they prepared to see it through? Or may we hope for a glimmer of sense, even at this late hour?

The moral of this tale is clear. Ideals are beautiful, but when they are unpractical they become a grave danger to the world at large.

Strategy and policy must go hand-in-hand. They need to be as

closely connected as Siamese twins. In post-war years this sound principle has been entirely neglected. Policy in the hands of well-intentioned idealists has been racing ahead. Thus have arisen the humiliating positions we have occupied on several occasions, notably at the times of the Manchukuo and Abyssinian crises. It is useless to threaten things that cannot be performed.

The League of Nations has to thank its most ardent supporters for its premature demise, due to their over-enthusiastic policies. Now it will have to be resuscitated by artificial respiration and nursed back to health on less ambitious lines, if it is to become, once again, a child of promise.

It is a sad fact that there is a war going on between China and Japan, without declaration of hostilities. I am not fully acquainted with the rights and wrongs of the whole situation, although I dare say I know more than many of those who are striving to punish Japan.

Japan is engaged on one stage of a long-term policy designed to establish a great Empire in the Far East. It is possible that Japan has undertaken too heavy a task to be successful in the long run. It is equally possible that China has been buoyed up by the same unfulfilled promises from Geneva which have already led poor Haile Selassie to seek seclusion at Bath. This is a particularly unpleasant thought. There is Russia in the background. To-day China is not in a position to resist Japan successfully. She can continue desultory warfare in her vast dominions, wearing both herself and her opponent out, or she can make peace and await a more favourable opportunity.

Friendly advice and mediation can be proffered. But the matter lies between China and Japan. The western world has neither the right nor the power to intervene, unless their interests are directly assailed, which they most assuredly will be if the upholders of the Boycott prevail.

THE TWO WHITE NATIONS

There are few people who, as man to man, harmonise so naturally and easily as Germans and Englishmen of the same level of education. Shortly before the War an English Admiral at an international naval banquet drank to his German comrade with the softly-spoken words : "To the two white nations!" That was not just an empty instance. Anyone who has witnessed a meeting of seamen from all parts of the world knows that this expression voiced the feeling of more than an individual.—*N. R. Rowland, "Nationale Heft," Zürich.*

STOP BOMBING IN ARABIA!
Appeal for a British Lead

by H. St. J. PHILBY

In our January issue we published an article by Mr. H. St. J. Philby on Southern Arabia which roused world-wide attention. We now publish the rejoinder by Mr. Philby to Mr. Vernon Bartlett's reply to his allegations

MR. VERNON BARTLETT, in WORLD REVIEW for February, deprecates any responsibility " to defend the methods by which the British Government influences the semi-independent sheiks of Arabia." He thinks that I, in my article in the January issue, of his REVIEW, have " exaggerated." He has " made a considerable effort to sort out the truth from the propaganda and briefly gives the result of that effort."

The matter cannot be left there. The whole object of my article was to challenge the *methods* of the British Government, which lay it open to counter-propaganda by Italy and other nations when they are attacked by the " straight news " service in the weak joints of their armour. And, if Mr. Bartlett does not feel competent to give his readers a lead on this business of aerial bombing, my uncompromising objection to it certainly strikes a chord of sympathy in a wide circle of serious-minded people, whose reaction to the problem was admirably expressed in *The Times* leading article of February 4th, in the following words : " It is hard to imagine any single step which would have a greater beneficial effect than an agreement to restrict and ultimately to outlaw *all bombing from the air*!" The italics are mine.

In the same article mention is made of Herr Hitler's proposal in 1935 of " the prohibition of bombing on open localities beyond the range of the medium heavy artillery of the fighting fronts." And, finally, though here I beg to differ fundamentally from the leader-writer, it is suggested that any reference to the failure of the 1932 Disarmament Conference is irrelevant. We should not forget that the British Government contributed to that failure by its reservation of the right to use the bombing aeroplane for police purposes in inaccessible localities and outlying parts of the Empire.

We may justly deprecate the bombing in Spain, in China, in Abyssinia. But,

> *"folks in office at the mention fret and fain would blush,*
> *if blush they could for shame"*

if we talk of bombing in Arabia, bombing in Palestine, bombing in the Yaman (fortunately discontinued since the treaty with that country), and bombing in Hadhramaut. Why? surely because the Arabian bombing is the exclusive privilege of Great Britain. Is it really that we cannot see the little mote in our own eye owing to the refraction caused by our neighbour's beam?

Let us be frank with ourselves if we wish to be taken seriously. My statements regarding bombing in the Hadhramaut are not challenged. On the contrary such bombing is justified as a humane and expeditious method of suppressing opposition. Then why seek to spare Barcelona or Shanghai the advantages of enemy rule which such humane methods are calculated most expeditiously to confer on them? No one can deny the fact that the Hadhramaut bombings of the last few years have caused non-combatant deaths—women and children. Are we to treat them as of little account until they amount to holocausts? And, more important than anything else, are we—the British race—to continue using such methods simply because we cannot get all nations now to agree to outlaw all bombing from the air? We can at least restrict the practice; we can restrict it territorially; we command absolutely in the British Empire a quarter at least of the globe. We can decree irrevocably that not an inch of that quarter of the globe shall ever henceforth experience the impact of a British bomb. If we gave such a lead, another quarter of the globe—all the small states of the world—would join us for a mutual accord in the same sense. One half of the world would thus be spared the horrors of aerial bombing absolutely, while the other half could get down to their bargaining at leisure. Half a loaf is better than no bread, and a British imperial lead is all that is needed to secure it.

Mr. Bartlett sidetracks this issue altogether and raises others, to which a reply is certainly necessary point by point.

(1) The new regulations, he pleads, make not the slightest difference in the status of the Hadhramaut. That is definitely not so. *Prima facie*, surely it would not have been necessary to issue an Order

in Council in March, 1937, if no change was intended. The change is not merely *de facto* but also *de jure*. Before that date all the States in the Aden Protectorate were *de jure* independent under British Protection. Now they are *de jure* under the administrative control of a British Governor and Commander-in-Chief, who has wide powers under the Order in Council. Formerly, they were *de facto* under the rule of their own Sultans. Now they are *de facto* subject to the control of British officers representing the Governor in so far as they can make such control effective—and that can only be done by free resort to the bombing aeroplane. The states and tribes of the so-called Aden Protectorate want neither Italian nor British rule. If they are allowed to speak without fear of being bombed, they will say so—unanimously.

(2) Mr. Bartlett fears that, if we leave a vacuum in Hadhramaut, some European Power or Arab neighbour will fill it. So far as European Powers are concerned he need have no fear. As regard Arab neighbours he mentions Ibn Sa'ud. By a curious coincidence a number of deputations from Hadhramaut have come up from Mecca for this year's pilgrimage to demand Ibn Sa'ud's acceptance of their allegiance and his defence of their independence against the growing menace of British penetration. Ibn Sa'ud is too wise to give such folk any encouragement, but he is the only man (or state) who can give peace to Hadhramaut without resort to the bombing aeroplane.

(3) As for Mr. Ingrams " whose presence in Mukalla so distresses " me, I do not happen to have the pleasure of his acquaintance, and I have no quarrel with him whatever except that he seems to approve of aerial bombing as a means of enforcing his will. But does Mr. Bartlett really believe that he was invited to go there by the local Sultan who, according to Mr. Bartlett, " has merely been requested to remain in India, since the claim of the existing Sultan (incidentally his son and aged about seventeen!) to rule appears to be so much better than his " ? I really find it very difficult to make head or tail of this sentence, which means little more than that the rightful ruler of the country has been turned out (with a K.C.M.G. to console him in his retirement) in order that Mr. Ingrams may rule in his stead. The results have certainly been illuminating—three highway robberies involving the murder of five persons on the road from Mukalla to Shihr during the past month and the consequential despatch of

three war-vessels and two aeroplanes from Aden to Mukalla.

And does Mr. Bartlett believe that the aeroplanes that visited Shabwa in May, 1937—a very short visit of only a few hours, of which a great deal was made in the English Press at the time—went there, as alleged, by invitation? I have good reason to regard these stories of cordial invitations with more than a little suspicion. It is so easy for the gate-crasher to pretend that he is an invited guest, especially when he has a gun in his pocket. But the crux of the matter is the bombing aeroplane, and that is a matter which no decent Englishman can continue to view with indifference.

Note.—Since writing the above I have heard with much satisfaction on the wireless (Jerusalem, February 23rd) the report of the Prime Minister's statement in the House of Commons that "the British Government is prepared to discontinue bombing from the air altogether provided that all other states do likewise." This is a great and remarkable advance of the British official attitude of 1932. But why the proviso?

MR. PHILBY'S "BROADCAST"

Here we reproduce part of a letter sent by Mr. Philby to "Great Britain and the East," in reply to criticism by Mr. Kenneth Williams of his statements

IT is essential that the civilised world should know the facts which the responsible governments do not proclaim from the house-tops. It is a pity that most people should have to rely on the wireless duel between London and Bari for garbled accounts of such happenings.

Only last night I listened to an Italian report of the aerial bombardment of the Haidar Mansur (?) tribe of the Aden Protectorate. Only a few nights before it was an English report of Italian aerial activities in certain parts of Abyssinia. Most listeners are not in a position to gauge the accuracy of this report, or that. It doesn't matter to most of them, but the British Government, in inaugurating Arabic broadcasts from London, promised us straight news. Are we getting it? Not yet, so far as we can judge here. Two recent agency

reports about events in Arabia are demonstrably untrue : (1) the report of 62 fatal casualties in an Arab tribal fracas on the Iraq–Trans-Jordan–Sa'udi Arabian frontier ; and (2) the settlement of a tribal dispute on the Trans-Jordan frontier by an agreement between the Trans-Jordan and Sa'udi Arabian Governments. In (1) there was only one death ; and in (2) the Sa'udi Arabian Government has no knowledge of any such agreement. But apart from such actual errors —which are, after all, human—the interpretation of straight news seems to be " no news." For instance many interesting things have been happening in Hadhramaut but we are not allowed to hear them. Fortunately Mecca, during the pilgrimage season, is an admirable clearing house for news of interest to the Arabs, and I offer you the following selection of quite " straight " news in the hope that the organisers of the nightly Arabic broadcast may use it as a model for their future programmes :

(*Several items have been omitted for reasons of space.*—EDITOR)

The Sa'ar tribe, centring on Al 'Abr and Raidat al Sa'ar north of Hadhramaut, have lately been in the bad books of the Aden authorities owing to three raids on the Manahil (their eastern neighbours), resulting in the lifting of 25, 9 and 8 camels respectively. Mr. Ingrams* demanded the return of the stolen property, but the Sa'ar refused to recognise his right of intervention. This was therefore asserted by a visit of bombers. The settlements of Ibn Rumaidan and Ibn Jarbu' were duly bombed. Ninety bombs were dropped—casualties (if any) unknown. Next day the aeroplanes repeated their visit but observed signs of contrition. Instead of bombs friendly messages summoning representatives of the tribe to meet Mr. Ingrams at Al 'Abr. The meeting duly took place with very satisfactory results. The tribes accepted Mr. Ingrams' terms. The old Wahhabi fort of Al 'Abr is being reconditioned, and a military post of 30 salve-troops under a Qa'aiti officer has now been established there. The Sa'ar tribe is doubtless included in Mr. Ingrams' trucial bag, but it was good shooting rather than fair words that brought them down. This item of news was given me in full detail at a gathering here of Hadhrami pilgrims. Among them was a member of the Sa'ar tribe, an old man almost toothless. His comment on the situation was at least illuminating : " It was that fellow Philby who came to Hadhramaut last

* British Resident in Mukalla

year that caused the trouble. We thought he came from Ibn Sa'ud but he brought the English down on us—curse his father." My hosts were covered with shame, but I checked their protest. " Did you see him, that fellow Philby ? " I asked the Sa'ri. " Yes, indeed," he replied, " with these very eyes." " Would you know him " I asked, " if you saw him again ? " " Indeed, I would," he replied, amid general laughter which he certainly did not understand.

* * * *

In December, 1936—a few months after my own visit to Hadhramaut—Captain Beach, R.E., was deputed by the Aden authorities to examine the possibility of making a road from Mukalla to Khuraiba and Hajarain. Having surveyed that area he decided to visit Tarim by the Kaf road. A car was sent to the roadhead to meet him. It was already night when he reached the Rasib settlement in Jabiri territory. In his haste to get through to Tarim he neglected the normal precaution of procuring a Jabiri guide, and was challenged on the road. His failure to stop resulted in a shot being put " across his bows," but the speed of the car, not sufficiently allowed for, placed the bullet in its bonnet. The chauffeur and another man in the front seat were wounded in the foot and thigh respectively by splinters, and the car was stopped. The Jabiri assailant demanded blackmail for further passage to the tune of 100 Riyals but in the end accepted 10. Mr. Ingrams sent for the Jabiri leaders to stand their trial for the incident and they duly appeared before the court composed of Mr. Ingrams himself and the Sultan of Saiwun—it would be interesting to know under what law the court was constituted, but the Jabiri folk did not challenge or admit its competence. Mr. Ingrams had indeed been an earlier victim of their blackmail to the tune of two Riyals. They pleaded that custom gave them the right to act as they did. It was a perfectly sound plea, but the Court found them guilty and gave them ten days to comply with its verdict : a fine of 50 Riyals, 10 camels and 100 rifles, with hostages for future good behaviour. They left the Court laughing and, after consulting their friends, decided to ignore the verdict. Then came the aeroplanes—it so happened at the very moment of a full assembly of the tribe at Rasib for a wedding. Their first missiles were messages warning the people that the period of compliance with the Court's verdict had expired and suggesting

the evacuation of the village—a mere scatter of houses along the valley—before the bombardment promised for the morrow. Incredulous, the people stood their ground and the aeroplanes were nonplussed. But the Royal Air Force is not without skill and experience in such matters. A few harmless smoke bombs amused and entertained the wedding guests. A few small bombs, carefully dropped at a safe distance from the gathering, convinced the people that the pilots were merely amusing themselves. A heavier bomb, still at a safe distance, was more impressive and the evacuation of the village began. Then bang-bang-bang as the high explosives splintered the rocky wilderness and shook their poor houses into the valley's gutter to be carried away by the next flood. Four matinées on successive days at a cost of 370 bombs to the British taxpayer. The casualties were of no account—*only a woman and two children killed* in an effort to drive their sheep into safety. Meanwhile Mr. Ingrams has sent out a supply of white flags in case the spectators might like to decorate their ruins, which of course they did. So the Court's sentence was duly complied with and another truce added to the bag.

TIP FOR OUR P.M.G.

Several hundred sentimentally-minded New Yorkers availed themselves of a new type of musical telegram inaugurated on St. Valentine's Day.

For a charge of 1s. 3d. specially trained telephone operators sing St. Valentine's Day greetings to any recipient designated by the sender. The greetings, I gather, were short and sugary and were sung to the latest dance tunes.

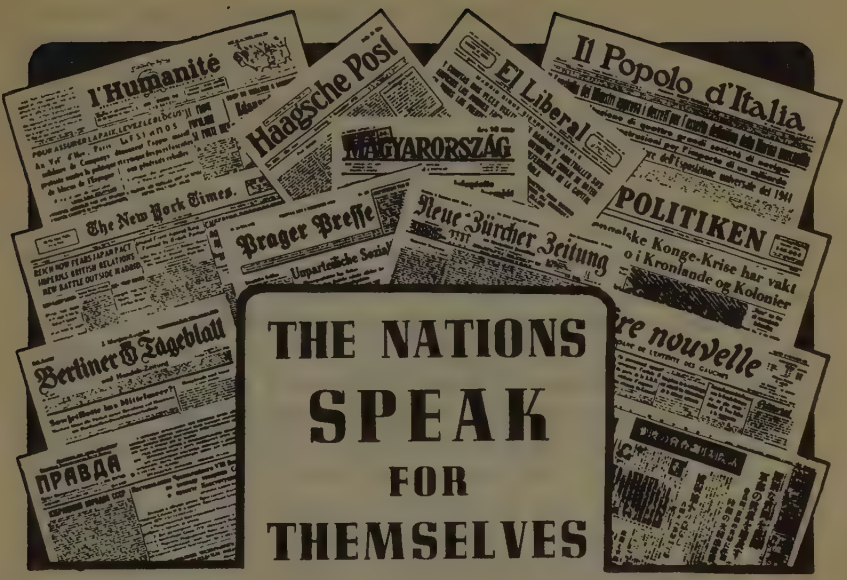
Male singers were available for women recipients and girls to sing to men. The operators can send 50 messages an hour and by 11 o'clock on Monday morning one of them had already sung 250 songs.

The most unusual greeting of the day, however, was a kiss telegraphed from New York to Chicago. Its sender, a young woman, planted a kiss on a telegraph form.

Her lipstick left the imprint of a perfect Cupid's bow. This was signed and transmitted in facsimile to her fiancé. The cost was 7s. 6d.—*Peterborough*, "*Daily Telegraph.*"

PROMISSORY NOTES

A Chicago bank offers organ solos to ease the day's routine. The signing of a 90-day note will be the cue, of course, for "Oh, Promise Me."—"*San Francisco Chronicle.*"



DANGER ZONE

ALL TOO SIMPLE

From the "Frankfurter Zeitung," 6.3.38

After Austria, Czechoslovakia? All the world is asking what is to be the fate of this post-war State, with its 3–3½ million German subjects along its westerly edges. Here is a very frank German answer to the Czechoslovak Premier's declaration, together with some Czech views

THE declaration made by Dr. Hodza on behalf of the Czechoslovak Government dealt only with questions of foreign policy, and, essentially, with that question which is regarded in Prague as vital —the relations of Germany and Czechoslovakia. In Dr. Hodza's opinion the settlement of questions of international relations presupposes their absolute clarity, their "unqualified freedom from ambiguity." The Prime Minister's contribution towards this clarity consisted in claiming "all attributes of national sovereignty" for the Czechoslovak State. As a corollary to such a claim, the anxiety

which has often been expressed in Germany regarding the fate of the Germans in Czechoslovakia is rejected on principle by Prague as intervention in internal affairs. Dr. Hodza tried to depict the German–Czechoslovak question in its whole serious extent, but we believe that the clarity and lack of ambiguity he seeks will not be achieved by over-simplifying complicated circumstances.

An Artificial State

It must be remembered that the Czechoslovak State fundamentally represents an artificial construction, which may have arisen from all sorts of necessities, but did not, and apparently, will not, for a long time, possess the convincing naturalness of an organic growth. Dr. Hodza sees the Germans of his country as having been more or less blasted into the Czech domain, and is of the opinion that the German minority must now accept this as fate. But, if one goes beyond temporal limitations to the immutable matter of race, a very much wider field of vision can be found, from which the relationship of encircled to encircling is seen to be reversed. In practical politics it is difficult to make any progress with such observations ; they can only serve to make clear the difficulties which arise when governments want to rule a constructed State like the Czechoslovakia of to-day with the same " unqualified sovereignty " which is the natural due of a genuine National State. Even if the conception of a national minority is used (and it is actually not at all adequate in this case), the attention paid by the related nation to the minority which is subject to another sovereignty is absolutely legitimate. How much greater must be German anxiety for the Germans in Czechoslovakia, who in numbers, in economic and intellectual strength represent a supporting part of this post-war erection.

Is this anxiety unjustified ? Even to-day the Czechoslovak Prime Minister has to admit that they have only just got as far as " constructive preparations " which might lead to settled relations between Germany and Czechoslovakia. No, it has not been happy, the fate of those Germans beyond the frontier since the war. A lot was promised and excellent phrases were formulated—such as Dr. Benes's, to the effect that " the adherence of the Sudeten Germans to the great German cultural community is a natural thing, to which the State has no objection. The State is aware that the political

frontier must in no way signify a spiritual barrier." If only this declaration had been followed to its logical conclusion in Prague, if only they had shown themselves in their foreign policy more open-minded as regards Germany. Instead, their foreign policy has constantly been dominated by the opposite attitude, that of the victor, leading by way of the various phases of the Little Entente to that pact with Soviet Russia, which could have only one meaning—anti-German. True, Dr. Hodza has just tried to interpret this pact as an " instrument of peace," but the interpretation is artificial, just as it is on French lips. Here lies a difficult barrier to mutual understanding. If what Dr. Benes once said is true, that a " struggle for the soul of the individual " is taking place wherever Czechs and Germans live beside one another, it will be hard for Czechoslovakia to take any step forward towards the realm of German sentiment so long as Czechoslovakia is degraded into being a Russian strategical position.

What is needed ? More must happen than can be achieved by diplomatic exchange of views. It must be grasped in Prague that the question of the Germans in Czechoslovakia cannot be solved according to the formula of unqualified sovereignty ; it is not even to be clarified along the customary lines of minority policy. What is essential is to find a particular form of life for the particular nature of the Czechoslovak State.

Dr. Hodza deplored the psychological barriers which have been erected. What can help better in this case than complete frankness ? Germany has made open pronouncement of her honest anxiety to all the world. It is for Czechoslovakia to answer with honest deeds.

NO INTERVENTION

From " L'Europe Centrale," Prague, 26.2.38

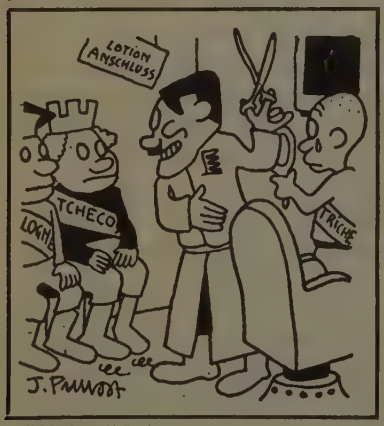
THE Chancellor of the Reich has announced that it is Germany's duty to protect those Germans who live in the two adjoining countries. They were, he says, prevented by the peace treaties from uniting with the Reich, and it is intolerable for a great nation to see racial brothers made victims of injustice.

It is an essential principle of international peace and justice that

there shall be no intervention in the internal affairs of any country whatsoever. If this principle is abandoned it will be the end of international order. For there could be no easier and at the same time more dangerous means of gaining an influence over a nation, and no instrument in the domain of politics which could be put to a worse use.

The case of Czechoslovakia is the best illustration of this. There is no country in Europe which has given more civil and political liberty to its minorities, and so to its German minority, or has guaranteed their cultural and economic development more than has Czechoslovakia. Nevertheless, a German political party has been formed there which is discontented, which talks of " grave injustice," and which has set itself a vast programme incompatible with the unity of the nation. And this party finds faith and support in Germany. Is it permissible that at any moment Germany should come and demand the realisation of some point in the programme, or the reparation of " injustices " fabricated by the propaganda services, of this political group ?

It is not only Czechoslovakia but all the countries more or less close to Germany who oppose, with all their strength and by every means, a theory which gives that country the right to intervene in their lives merely because German minorities live within their



" Marianne," Paris.
CLOSE SHAVES
" You gentlemen come next."

"Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris.
" Not a single rabbit, but I've brought back two Italian rifles and a German machine gun."

frontiers. There is only one organisation which has such a right, within very definitely fixed limits : the League of Nations.

One can note with satisfaction the fact that the Chancellor of the Reich recognises that it is impossible to fix frontiers in Europe which would satisfy everybody. One can only approve the idea that it is for that reason necessary to prevent minorities from " bad treatment." One can also share the opinion that these problems, with goodwill, could be solved by means of peaceful compromises.

OTHER MINORITIES

From " Narodni Listy," Prague

EVER since our renewed independence began we have been preoccupied with " normalizing " our relations with Germany. We have always been conscious that our relations with our German minority must be such that those with the Reich do not suffer on account of them. If Herr Hitler believes that with goodwill it is possible to find the way to a compromise, we have that goodwill. But we must know what Herr Hitler means by his guardianship of his racial brothers in foreign countries. Up to now we have seen that his ideas on that subject vary a great deal. We have heard nothing about demands concerning the Germans of the South Tyrol. This is not even mentioned in Germany, as if there were no Germans at all in that Italian province. The problem of minorities was settled between Poland and Germany by two governmental declarations. The status of those minorities permits them to have economic and cultural organisations, but forbids political organisations. The situation of the German minority in Poland cannot be compared with that of the Germans in Czechoslovakia. And the first condition that Herr Hitler formulated, on receiving the representatives of the Polish minority, was the following : " The German Poles must always be conscious of the fact that the protection of their rights demands the loyal execution of their obligations towards the State and obedience to its laws." If Germany agrees with this point of view concerning the relations between minorities and the State in which they live, the question of Germans living outside the Reich can be solved equally well where Czechoslovakia is concerned.

ENTER GREAT-GERMANY

TRIUMPH OF UNITY

From the "Hamburger Fremdenblatt," 12.3.38

ARE we aware that we lived through an historic day yesterday, a triumph for the National Socialist outlook, a triumph for the German community of fate? It is ninety years ago to-morrow since Prince Metternich, the personification of cunning reaction, was forced to capitulate to the German freedom movement of '48 and to flee from Vienna. Yesterday saw a poor imitator of his methods, though not an inheritor of his capacity, disappear from the political stage. A man who misunderstood his historic task, who preferred allying himself with the Marxist underworld to standing by his word as given in Berchtesgaden, who was not deterred by the prospect of a civil war with foreign help or indeed of a new world conflagration, has been swept away by the National Socialist wave in Austria. His last words were a string of lies. With him a system has disappeared, which sought to make a lie live by the methods of a police state.

Are we aware how critical the situation had become through Schuschnigg's criminal game? By great deception in the form of an unchecked, and (in the way the question was put) perfidious, plebiscite the help of democratic public opinion throughout the world was to be mobilised against the eruption of the National Socialist revolution in Austria. The doubtful honesty of such methods brought the former Austrian Chancellor a rebuff even in those countries against which the German–Austrian frontier cannot be too hermetically sealed. Through his play with civil war, through the use of National Socialist-sympathising troops and police against the National Socialist population of Innsbruck, Graz and Linz, he tried to bludgeon a movement which was much stronger than the entire Schuschnigg regime. For this purpose the Communist rats were to be allowed to creep out of their holes, to arm themselves and proceed to bloody terror against Austrian National Socialists and Reich Germans. Schuschnigg himself by his attempt at a deception of the people let loose forces which had been dammed up and have now swept away the grisly phantom with a roar of thunder rising from the depths of

a people's soul. To-day the swastika flag waves over all Austria and the united jubilation of German men and women surges over the frontiers.

One might close the Schuschnigg file if he had silently left the green table of the Chancellery, like a gambler who has played away his capital. But his last act was an attempt to falsify history, and such blows at historic truth called for rectification, even though the disloyalty of Schuschnigg's policy needs no further exposure. The sincere will to understanding on the part of the Reich Government, which found its expression in the Agreement of July, 1936, in the agreement over a Press Peace and the conversation at Berchtesgaden, found a dishonest partner in Schuschnigg. He betrayed his ministers, particularly his successor, Seyss-Inquart, when he proclaimed his grotesque plebiscite behind their backs. He deceived world public opinion by inventing an ultimatum from the Reich Government as excuse for the collapse of his policy, thereby turning the facts upside down. Austrian ministers presented their demands to the Austrian President when they realised that Schuschnigg's criminal game threatened to plunge Austria into chaos. Schuschnigg's claim that the Government was completely master of the situation and that there had been no unrest sounds like a grotesque jest from the mouth of a man whose traces have been blown away in a few hours by the National Socialist gale. Where was, yesterday evening, the firm front in which Schuschnigg pretended to believe and in which wide

"Le Canard Enchainé."

"Ought we to interfere?"
"I don't think so. It may be long-lost brothers finding each other again.

Paris.

DOUBTFUL

"Now, I wonder . . . Is it a case of kidnapping or simply an *Anschluss*."

circles in foreign countries were only too glad to believe? The Austrian people's jubilation gives an answer which there can be no doubting.

We must think back in history in order to measure the greatness of the hours through which we are living. How many years the great longing has been alive in all Germans for a unity which cannot be disturbed by dynastic interests and questions of superiority! National Socialist Austria is now master of its decisions and no international lawyer can accuse the *Führer* of having been even formally guilty of a breach of law. Seyss-Inquart himself requested the "quickest possible despatch of German troops" because he saw how dangerous excitement had grown through Schuschnigg's misdeeds. So it is that in the sign of National Socialism something has been accomplished which was not in the long run to be prevented by any Schuschnigg, by any Popular Front or by any League of Nations—the union of the German peoples.

For the *Führer* March 11th signifies incomparably more than for any one of us. The country in which he was born, that presented him to us, has acknowledged him. His personal service to history is that the old longing of the Germans has been so wonderfully fulfilled, not by the old means of power, much less of war, but out of the inner conviction of a people, out of the common conversion of German men and women to National Socialism.

No More Austrian Problem

Let us remember to-day what a dangerous role the "Austrian question" has played since the peace treaties. Since yesterday evening there is no longer any Austrian question, but only a happy Austria. All attempts by Herr von Schuschnigg to rouse diplomatic resistance to National Socialist Germany to the point of war-like measures have been a complete fiasco. Mussolini has answered such suggestions with a categorical "no" and so at the same time proclaimed that there is no Austrian question between Berlin and Rome. The French people, to whom the blessings of parliamentary rule and the curse of authoritarian government are always being preached, was without any government at all when it was obliged to realise that its favourite Schuschnigg was a failure both as man and politician. England, which since it booted out the League enthusiast Eden, has resumed

its traditional policy of realism, will not let herself be drawn into any adventure with incalculable risk for the sake of a Herr von Schuschnigg. From a higher standpoint, however, all governments and all peoples must say to themselves that March 11th was a happy day for European peace. The key position of all intriguers, mischief-makers and war-mongers has been cleaned up by National Socialism and will in future be a supporting pillar of European peace.

FINIS AUSTRIAE

From the "Basler Nachrichten," Switzerland, 13.3.38

"I SHOULD like here, before the German people, to express my sincere thanks to the Austrian Chancellor for the great understanding and warm-hearted readiness, with which he accepted my invitation and endeavoured to find a way in common with me, which lies in the interests of both countries as of the entire German people—that entire German people whose sons we all are, wheresoever the cradle of our homeland stood. I believe that we have thus also achieved a contribution to European peace."

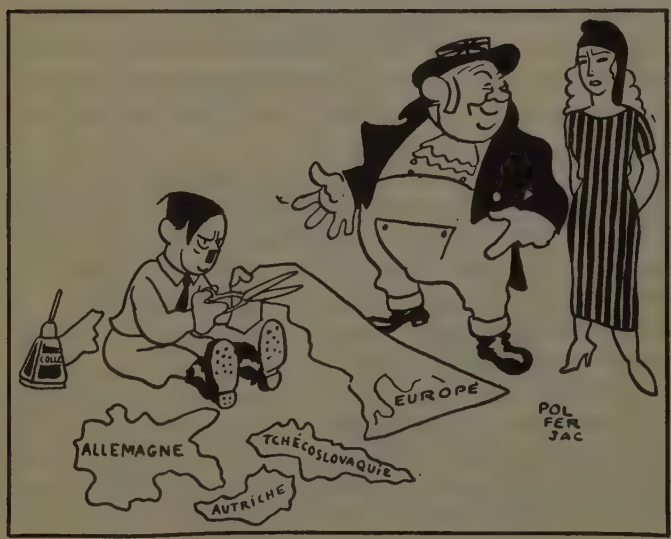
So spoke Adolf Hitler to the German Reichstag on February 20th, 1938. And on March 11th, 1938, he forced the sincerely thanked Austrian Chancellor to resignation and capitulation by the threat of military invasion conveyed in the form of an ultimatum expiring within a few hours.

Schuschnigg's sole satisfaction in connection with this pitiable end to an honourable political career may be that proof has been given the world of the wish of the majority in Austria to remain independent of National Socialist Germany. For if Hitler, whose spies keep him more accurately informed than anyone of the internal Austrian situation, had not foreseen an unfavourable result of the plebiscite, he would never have hindered the vote.

And Kurt Schuschnigg has submitted to force! In his farewell speech on the wireless he gave as his motive that on no account did he want to let it come to the shedding of German blood. Did he know for certain that the threat of invasion was not a bluff? However that may be, it will be well to leave Schuschnigg to answer to

his own conscience and to Austrian history for his abandonment of resistance. But—if he believed he ought not to sacrifice the life of a single Austrian soldier, he should have at least sacrificed his own life. Dollfuss died for Austria. His successor, Schuschnigg, lives. For whom or what ?

So much may and must be said. But too rough stones should not be thrown at Schuschnigg, who was surrounded by traitors and did not get the slightest support from other countries. The real betrayers of Austria are the victor Powers of the World War. They tacked this State together in such a fashion that right from the beginning it *had* to collapse for lack not only of territorial extent but of courage. The means by which a small State can acquire this courage —by the creation of a national army—they forbad Austria to adopt. They were never interested in the economic union of the Danube area as a substitute for political union. All that France delighted in were her military alliances with the Succession States, which are now left in the air. And on the day of Austria's last throes Paris was amusing itself with another of its interminable ministerial crises and with a precious and silly game of question and answer between Party big-wigs over the formation of a new Cabinet.



"There now! *What* a lad!"

"*Marianne*," Paris.

If France feels herself uninterested in Central Europe, naturally England feels justified in all the greater reserve. And Italy is handicapped. Its negotiations with Chamberlain's Ministry are in full swing, and as long as they are not successfully concluded, Italy dare not let its axis trump go out of its hand ; cannot, that is to say, call a halt to Germany. For this very reason, Hitler has speeded up the solution of the Austrian question. *He* never oversleeps the historic hour ; he leaves sleeping and dreaming to others. What can they be dreaming about ? About the World War, which they once thought they had won ? Now it is lost, through the creation of a Great Germany.

Is it finally lost ? It would be presumptuous to answer this question. But it may be surmised that its final answer will cost much more German blood than would have flowed if Schuschnigg had let his Austrian troops do their patriotic duty. He has given the lie to his own words : " So far and no further ! " In their place the question remains : " So far and how much further ? "

THE LOGIC OF HISTORY

From " Il Corriere della Sera," Milan, 13.3.38

ITALY has a hundred and one motives for witnessing with absolute tranquillity Austria's internal development in a Nazi direction : she has a thousand motives, too, for refusing to take part in collective intervention side by side with sanctionist countries, whose action is typically and fundamentally anti-Italian.

The *Führer's* letter to the *Duce* helps to increase the sense of security existing in Italian political circles : its aim is to show the irrevocable nature of the decisions taken by the Berlin government and it constitutes a friendly document, a spontaneous justification whose value it would be idle to illustrate. Therefore let us consider facts calmly.

Austria has become Nazi. It would be more correct to say : Austria, by what was fortunately a bloodless revolutionary process, characterised by a general, significant enthusiasm, has openly assumed the Nazi physiognomy which already corresponded to the ideas and sentiments of the majority.

The process of unification of the German people, which had become irresistible since Hitler's accession to power, has reached its fulfilment in a logical manner which, as it happens, is the logic of history. We Italians, who are conscious of the worth of national unity and of the force of attraction of revolutionary ideas, we who have experienced all this, cannot stand amazed at what has happened in the German world, just as we could not really expect to upset or retard a movement which tends fundamentally to simplify and to clarify the political orientation of Central Europe.

Unifying Tendency

From the historical point of view these recent events constitute in fact a necessary result of the Great War and as such mark the end of one epoch and the beginning of another. At the disruption of the Austro-Hungarian imperial union (an event in which Italy gloriously and worthily played a part) there were some who deluded themselves into believing that it was possible to keep Europe sub-divided into a large number of small States with the grave economic and moral effects known to all. There were some even, who conceived and toyed with the absurd hypothesis of a real disruption of the whole Germanic world. But modern life, because of the immutable laws which govern our civilisation, tends to unite rather than to disperse peoples of the same race and of the same tongue ; tends, in short to make centralising and unifying forces prevail.

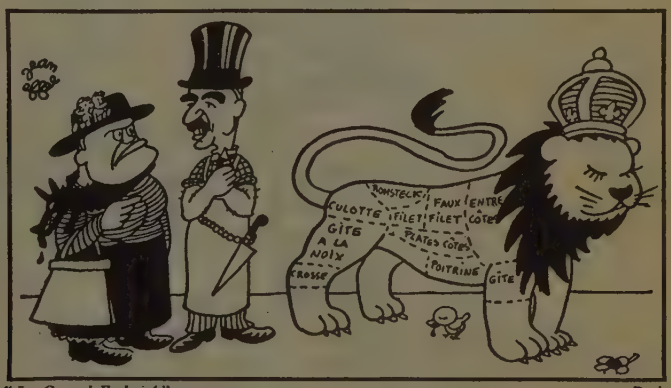
In the third Reich such a tendency was made more pressing and powerful by the vigour and growth of National Socialism, by the strong personal attraction of Hitler, by the remarkable renewal of German strength in all fields. Such a rebirth was bound to make its influence felt beyond the frontiers ; Austria could not escape it, and in fact Nazi influence in recent years had constantly gained ground in the little republic. The vast majority of the population regarded with admiration the magnificent work of restoration achieved by the *Führer*, who, besides, is himself an Austrian. The union of interests and feelings was inevitable.

This is not the time to condemn the recent work of Schuschnigg who tried desperately to find a formula of conciliation which would save the constitutional autonomy of Austria ; but it must also be said here and now that this attempt seemed, with the passing of each

moment, farther and farther removed from reality. And finally it must be added, as far as we are concerned, that Schuschnigg in recent years had never once revealed his intentions to the Italian Government, just as he had asked for no help from it.

For this, and for obvious reasons of affinity, Italy, in view of its very friendly relations with the Reich, could not in the face of the Austrian crisis assume any other attitude but that of full, impartial, scrupulous objectiveness.

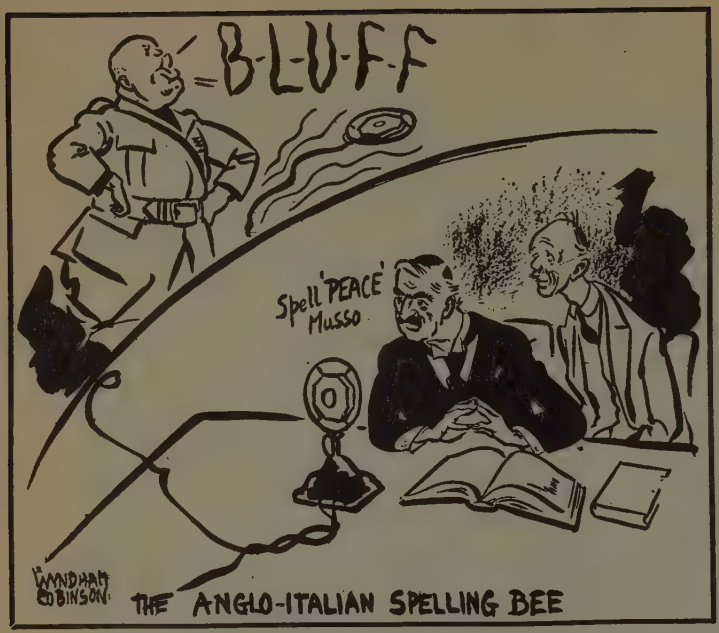
Such objectiveness, based on a clear conscience and appreciation of facts, it would be idle to seek in the other foreign capitals, and especially in the so-called " great democracies " where the news from Austria has left everyone aghast. Let us hasten to say that the alarmed and apprehensive comments of the French, English and Czechoslovak press, fail to impress us, or can only arouse in us a somewhat contemptuous smile. These good people it seems, had really got it into their heads that Italy's principal, nay, exclusive, mission was to watch over Austrian independence, as if this represented a purely Italian interest ! They had persuaded themselves that Austria, a German country, was to perform an eternally anti-German function in relation to the Hitlerian Reich ! It is on such colossal absurdities that was based the plan for the preservation of the *status quo* in Europe, to the exclusive advantage of a few privileged States! But we had already, many years ago, passed far beyond such a conception, as static as it was morally iniquitous.



" How about a nice little Rome-State? "

" *Le Canard Enchaîné,*" *Paris*

ANGLO-ITALIAN TALKS



"The Star," London

AS MOSCOW SEES THEM

"Moscow News"

WARNING TO FRANCE
Critical World Situation

From a speech by Paul Reynaud, to the Société des Conférences, Paris, 4.2.38

Any government of National Union in France, should it be found possible at last to form one, would include M. Paul Reynaud as a sine qua non. *A former Minister of Justice and now Deputy for Paris, M. Reynaud, who belongs to the Moderate Right, is one of the outstanding French politicians of the day. His speech is, we feel, of such importance that we give extracts from it at some length*

LET us consider the fundamental interests of Italy, Germany and Japan, and see what conclusions we reach.

As to Italy—we have much sympathy for this sober and industrious people—is it really to her interest to break up the Allied Front which gave her victory with the Allies in the War and brought her Trieste and South Tyrol? Is it really to her interest to leave no stone unturned to weaken France, with the hope, it seems, of driving her into a corner and annihilating her? When the German army is on the Brenner (from the top of which, not four years ago, Mussolini addressed such eloquent words to the Reich) do you think the *Führer* will not remember Bismarck's words "Trieste is a German port"? And when he remembers, suppose French forces do not exist or are very much diminished: Germany will not ask, she will take, and Italy will see warships flying the swastika flag sailing towards the Adriatic. That day, her leaders well know, will mean slavery for Italy.

And Germany? Fifteen months ago I met one of the most eminent and influential German leaders and said to him: "I don't understand your policy at all. You tell me you are against Communism. But you are really working for it: because you are getting ready for war. . . ."

And Japan? Japan—financially, economically, monetarily weak, Japan whose nerves are stretched to breaking point—what imprudence for her to throw herself into the China affair and perhaps to-morrow into a war against Soviet Russia.

And yet these three nations forming the triangle move forward as though an inner voice were calling them : *March! march!*

What is the real reason for this crusade against Communism? No doubt Japan declares officially that if she is attacking China it is only to combat Communism and maintain order. It is only now and then that a flash of truth pierces this cloud. I myself was very much impressed by a communiqué issued a few weeks ago by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Tokyo. In this it was said : "It is hard to maintain peace so long as unequal distribution of wealth in the world is not abolished." That is another story. There you have the Levellers of the English Revolution talking, or Babeuf; it is the pressure of the "have-nots" as the English say, against the "haves."...

Class War Between Nations

It is not a question of a war between two ideologies. There are on one side the nations which demand, on the other the nations which defend. On one side are the proletarian peoples, on the other the *rentier* peoples, who are satiated, to use the Duce's word. We are taking part in a class-war between the nations. There are nations with large populations living in small and poor countries, nations where the proportion of youth is higher than in the democracies (which is one of the most important phenomena of present-day politics). Democracies : nations composed for the most part of mature men ; autocracies : nations of young people. That explains everything.

The political regimes of Nazism or Fascism are the products of these needs. They were created in order to satisfy them, and as soon as they came to the top they exalted the needs from which they themselves arose. What does Hitler say in his book (which, it seems, is always up to date, since it is distributed officially and free of charge to all young husbands in Germany, who are told to make it their bed-side book)? Hitler says, to put it briefly, "Let us finish off our hereditary enemy in the west ; then we can stroll over all the rest of Europe, swinging our stick, and can go and cut ourselves a slice of Russian soil."

It is a fact little known in France that, since the beginning of Fascism, Mussolini has exploited the feeling of jealousy and bitterness that exists in Italy against the neighbour who is too rich and has too many centuries of glory behind her. . . .

What does she ask of France? From the beginning she has asked for Nice, Corsica, and Savoy, of course, but it seems that the promise made by Germany is the one most likely to intoxicate the Italian. "France stole the heritage of Rome from you," Germany doubtless told him, "if you associate yourself with me you will recover your heritage."

Price of German Friendship

I remember once meeting a foreign diplomat in Italy and saying to him: "I understand the feelings that perhaps exist in the Fascist Party, which I do not confuse with the mass of the Italian people; but how terribly dangerous this policy is, which favours German force and tends towards German predominance." And this diplomat answered: "Yes, I said all that the other day to one of the chiefs of the Italian army, who answered, 'Yes, but the reward is so tempting.'" I think these words are illuminating. A foreigner who arrived from Italy the other day, said to me: "In Italy to-day a third of the newspapers are consecrated to the glory of the regime, a third to the pre-eminence of Italy, and a third to the disparagement of France."

You know about the campaign against Corsica, but perhaps you do not know the way in which it is conducted. When I say "against Corsica" I mean it consists in saying that Corsica is an Italian island which must return to Italy. Here, for example, are some lines from the newspaper, *Il Telegrafo*, of Leghorn:

> "When the Italian nation is in danger, when they are talking in France of arming the Red Legions on the Alps (I have heard nothing of this, but perhaps I am misinformed) and in Corsica of arming the Italians of the island against the Italians of the continent, then all methods of self-defence, even the most rigorous, the most ferocious and the most infernal are, for us, just and necessary."

But the present economic and financial situation of Italy is such that disparaging France is no longer enough; she must get out of the situation she is in. There are only two ways of doing so: either by obtaining credits (and then Mussolini will be obliged to take money where money is to be found, that is to say, from the democracies) or else by the solution of despair. If Germany were to attack, or if she were to instal herself in Austria, don't you think that Italy, with the German army on the Brenner, would be strongly tempted to demand her wages? Are you sure that Hitler would refuse?

There is the European situation or, more exactly, the world

situation, for the China affair is closely linked to the European. The war in China is an indescribable catastrophe for the white race. Experience has taught us that where the Japanese instal themselves the white men can no longer prosper economically. It is a catastrophe for Germany and for Italy (especially for Germany) as for all the other white races. China is a present made to Japan by Germany and Italy, for if the present tension in Europe had not kept the British fleet in the Mediterranean and the North Sea, there is no doubt that the Japanese enterprise could not even have begun, for the British fleet would then have been at liberty to join the American fleet in barring the way to Japanese aggression.

But there is another side to this—the role which Japan must play in the great enterprise of the Rome–Berlin–Tokyo triangle. Japan must immobilise Russia in the Far East to prevent her taking a part in Europe when the two other associates of the triangle begin widespread operations. . . .

Value of Russia ?

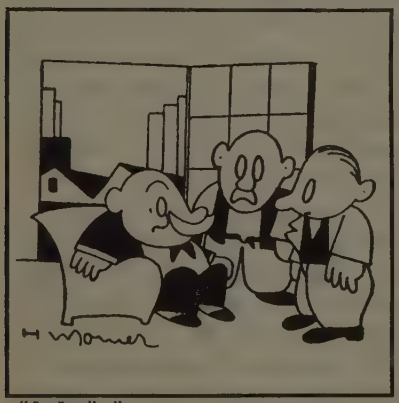
When did the anti-communist crusade begin ? It began, with strange irony at the moment when Russia turned her back on Communism and looked towards national-socialism. It began at the moment when Germany and Russia both got the idea that if the democracies could make use of Russian man-power and raw materials the strength of the Rome–Berlin axis could be balanced. Oh, I know very well that the Russian army is no doubt very much weakened by the very numerous executions that Stalin has indulged in. But do you want us to assess it at nothing despite the opinion of very competent generals who went to study Russian tank regiments on the spot and found them remarkable ? It is said that her very modern air force is still the largest ; it has given proof of its value in Spain. Do you want us to assess that too at nothing? Russia is also building a navy ; do you want us to assess that at nothing, too ? Well, even if you do, the fact of having in the east of Europe a country with the resources of Russia in raw materials and in war potentialities, a country which can bring pressure to bear on a country like Poland or like Rumania, whose aid in the matter of oil might be decisive in a war—that is a fact which, by itself might justify those who in the past either recommended a Franco–Soviet pact, like M. Louis Barthou, signed it, like M. Pierre Laval, or else demanded its ratification like

M. Pierre-Etienne Flandin. Must we condemn all these Ministers of Foreign Affairs? I do not think so.

* * * *

What the Germans persist in forgetting is that it was not for pleasure that we signed the Franco–Soviet pact. The French were not at all inclined to do so. We obeyed a century-old law of French politics; when a power in the heart of Europe begins to threaten the security of France, France seeks a counter-balance in the East. That is the law. Certainly we should prefer collective security; but what is left of the League of Nations to-day? Not much. Still we should be wrong to consider it entirely dead, for that would be a great misfortune for humanity and for France. . . .

We ourselves created a crisis of the League of Nations, for at the very time when it seemed as if it might function efficiently, we hesitated. That was at the time of the Abyssinian War. A great current swept the Scandinavian states and the little nations of Europe said to themselves, "For us who are exposed to so many dangers, whose lives depend on the cohesion of the great powers, in that a cohesion which we believe can only be found at that central point of European and world politics which is Geneva, our only hope lies." At that moment France hesitated between two policies and chose neither. . . We let the opportunity which fate offered us slip through our fingers,



"La Lumière,"

"How to reconcile capital and labour? Simple—you give up your new privileges and I'll give you my esteem again."

Paris

"This time there's no doubt about it . . . The Popular Front has alienated our greatest enemies."

and once more lost on both sides. That is why the small countries are turning away from the League of Nations and towards the strength of the dictatorships.

No Abdication !

Should we abdicate? Should we ask forgiveness for being a democracy and having an ideal of liberty? I strongly believe the contrary. If France clings to her ideal and proclaims it, it is not in order to contest with any nation the right to have an ideal, not to criticise the regimes which Germany and Italy have given themselves. But I have a profound conviction that the unanimity of action of those countries hides a great diversity of thought. We should remain a magnetic pole for all those who hope that one day liberty of thought, liberty of action, the right to come and go as one pleases, to develop the human personality, to create artistically otherwise than under the rule of the state and for political ends, will be restored even in those countries. If we do not play that card we shall be failing in our duty and our destiny.

To weaken to-day would be all the more culpable now that a great movement against the aggression of dictatorships is growing in the United States where only a short time ago there was still so much bitterness about the debts of the last War. And this current is entirely a moral one, for it is not France or Czechoslovakia that the Americans intend to defend but a certain political ideal, a certain conception of human life to which they are deeply attached. Moreover (and this is one of the reasons why the control of exchanges would be not only a useless but a disastrous error) it is a fact that while President Roosevelt condemns the policy of moral and economic autarky of the totalitarian countries, he also defends the material interests of his own country which require an export trade. So material interest is joined to moral interest. . . I believe also that the great voice of the Vatican is of the utmost importance in the moral sphere. The Pope, who is in a difficult situation, nevertheless has dared to speak. He has dared to take up the defence of human personality in the face of the totalitarian regimes. He has dared to express an ideal which is akin to ours, and it is really one of the most delightful paradoxes of our epoch that it was the government of M. Leon Blum which invited Cardinal Pacelli to come to France with all the honours due to him...

In the present state of Europe we must not only appeal to the forces of morality ; we must also increase the military power of France. We must describe things as they are. I have a great respect for diplomats, but a diplomat is a gentleman who draws cheques on the military account of his country. If the account is empty the cheques are returned dishonoured.

Is the Army Capable to Taking the Offensive ?

Three years ago I said to the then government in the Chamber : " We are still living under the law of 1927 which organised our army into a defensive army, which declared that it had no other purpose than to defend itself. But you have undertaken many commitments in Europe which involve many dangers. To maintain your commitments, and that is the very definition of a Great Power, you must be able to act outside your frontiers. But you have an instrument which does not permit it."

Alas, proof came quickly; for a year afterwards, profiting from the pretext which had been given him by the fact that our government of that time had ratified the Franco–Soviet Pact without having foreseen or prepared anything on its consequences from the point of view of German reactions, Hitler had the Rhineland invaded by the Reichswehr. We know to-day that if France had taken a firm line it would have meant twenty more years of peace. But France did not take a firm line. And one of the reasons why she did not was because she lacked an appropriate military instrument. The mobilisation of the whole army would have been necessary. M. Paul-Boncour, who was a member of the government at the time, has said so formally since. We lost the match because we did not have that motorised army which would have made a crushing counter-attack possible. We lived then on the theory of systematic defence, which is that of the passive sufferer—of a boxer who receives his opponent's blows without ever returning them. It was because we did not have that instrument that we gave in on the 7th of March, and why, a few months later, Belgium separated from us.

What attitude should we adopt to-day towards the military problem ? A new fact has changed everything. This fact is the technical evolution of military art ; it is the engine. The power of the engine has increased so much that the limits of strategy have widened. The frontiers of strategy overflow the frontiers of the

country, for distance has been reduced by the speed of the motor. If Belgium were badly defended she could be traversed in a few hours. Think of it, think that it now takes an aeroplane only half-an-hour to go from Tournai to Paris.

It was Mr. Baldwin who said that the frontier of England was on the Rhine. No reasonable man could deny that the frontier of France is on the Belgian Meuse. Italy understands that if she confines herself within her frontiers she would be destroyed by enemy fleets. Therefore she has built herself an air force and a navy in order to breathe and to keep the enemy far from her frontiers. In these conditions to continue to live under the 1927 law which formed the present army, which was conceived in relation to a country which defends herself within the shelter of her own frontiers, is to ignore the new facts.

The interdependence of countries was proved during the war, from the economic point of view, when we survived because we were supplied with raw materials by our Allies. The result was that at the end of four years, and despite her formidable military successes, Germany was forced to capitulate. To-day it is not only the question of supplies which necessitates co-operation with other countries, but also strategic action itself; the consequence is that, contrary to what many people say and write in France nowadays, we can no longer defend ourselves while living in splendid isolation. From now on it is no longer a question of deciding whether we like a nation or not, we must save our lives. Knowing whether the political regime of a future ally pleases us or not is not the question ; it is to know, for example, whether or not Russia can help Poland and Rumania, supply them with arms or with raw materials, or whether on the contrary, she can imperil their very existence in time of danger.

To Avert the Peril

We have a great duty to fulfil ; it is to put the forces of France in a position to act. France would no longer be a Great Power if she could not strike quickly and far, according to the laws of modern warfare. We must act much more boldly than we have done in the renovation of our military force. Alas, shall we always be too late for everything ? We devalued our currency too late. And too late we are conforming to the evolution which is taking place in the military sphere. . . . It is too easy to say that our deficiency is due to

the fault of the workers. No, no. We also are at fault, we who are responsible for the general policy of the country ; there is a deficiency in intelligence and will among the élite ; we must face the fact and get to work. . . . Just think that since the Armistice we have spent 372 milliards, that is to say, more than any other country. But now we see that we are behind in every field of real competition.

I ask your permission to remind you that if it is true that we are considerably inferior to-day in the domain of industrial production, it is our fault ; I mean simply that for lack of will-power we have allowed ourselves to drift. During the last war we showed that we had a colossal industrial power. Industrial power in military matters may be divided under two heads ; invention and manufacture. As to invention, the first aeroplane was made by a Frenchman, so was the first balloon and so were the first submarine and the first tank. That means, I imagine, that as far as invention is concerned we do not have to take lessons from anybody. As to manufacture, during the last war, from the very beginning, alas, our coal, our iron, and the majority of our metal-works were in enemy hands : still, that did not prevent us, since we had will-power, from starting the war with 3,000 guns and manufacturing 36,000 ; starting with 3,000 machine-guns and manufacturing 300,000, ; starting with 136 aeroplanes and manufacturing 35,000 ; starting with no tanks at all and manufacturing 5,000. At the end of the war the French had 3,000 planes in the air and the Germans 2,600 ; the French tanks numbered 2,000 and the Germans 84. These figures are not well known. Are they not eloquent ? I perfectly understand that the Germans were embarrassed by the difficulty of supplying their factories with raw materials ; but would they not be equally embarrassed now ? Moreover, we supplied arms to the Serbs and the Greeks ; we alone supplied materials to the Russians and the Rumanians. The Americans fired the guns and flew the aeroplanes : every one of those guns, every one of those planes was manufactured by us, by the French ! That also is a fact not too well known. But it gives me the right to say that France is capable of every effort and that it is a question of national will. We must choose between making a national effort *before* we are bombed, in order to avoid making it during a bombardment, or awaiting the bombardment with the apathy that reigns at present.

PLAIN WORDS FROM AMERICA

DISTRUST OF BRITAIN

by THEODORE DRAPER

From "New Masses" (Communist), New York, 22.2.38

BIG Bill Thompson used to run away with the Chicago elections by daring King George III (1738–1820) to stand up like a man and fight it out to a finish. Since there were relatively few Redcoats in town at election time, Big Bill never risked anything but a hoarse throat. It was a looney show while it lasted ; and the depression made it look silly, at least in retrospect.

Big Bill won his elections but failed to keep his promise, failed miserably. The Redcoats are back. The second British invasion has begun. The enemy has gained a salient in the corridors of Capitol Hill. They are threatening our national interest. They are dragging us into war. Their agent in the White House sends naval appropriation bills to Congress that were practically written by the British admiralty. An American naval officer, sent over to consult with his superiors in London, gave them a mortgage on the fleet. . . .

It is an undeniable fact that underlying the historical relationship between the two countries has been a profound, basic clash of interest. The Anglophobia of the Beard–Thompson school of politics has its roots in this fundamental reality as well as in the sediment of anti-British sentiment inherited from the first American revolution. The idea that the British have strenuously tried to form an alliance with the United States, especially in respect to the Far East, is folly. The British have been most reluctant, at least until now, to enter into any *bloc* with the United States. It is hard, if not impossible, to point to a single instance where the British proposed joint action with the United States in the Far East. It is easy to point to several where the United States tried to get British co-operation but was rudely rebuffed.

Former Secretary of State Stimson has written the story of his determined attempt to get joint action with Great Britain against Japan's invasion of Manchuria in 1931. Mr. Stimson, after feeling his way following the opening of hostilities at Mukden on September

18th, finally decided to invoke the Nine-Power Treaty. This was at a conference with President Hoover on February 8th, 1932, almost five months after the first bombardment. Mr. Hoover agreed and Secretary Stimson conveyed his intentions to the British ambassador on the following day. In order to hasten matters, Mr. Stimson actually telephoned to London on February 11th. The then British Foreign Secretary, Sir John Simon, happened to be in Geneva, but Mr. Stimson persisted and succeeded in giving him a personal statement of the American plan. Mr. Stimson proposed that both powers issue a joint statement invoking the Nine-Power Treaty.

Sir John refused. The British were then in no mood for co-operation with the United States, preferring their unofficial alliance with Japan instead. Mr. Stimson later wrote that he felt " deeply discouraged " at this point in his career.

Here, then, is a case, now fully documented, of British reluctance to enter into a compact with the United States, though urged to do so in most emphatic fashion. Mr. Stimson has been accused of being a secret Anglophile. That may be so, though I do not think that this accounts for his actions. In any event, this completely muffs the issue: England, not America, was wooed and coyly refused. The current isolationist version has it reversed.

The Brussels Conference of last November is a similar and more recent case. At that conference, England, not yet ready to break with Japan, refused the proffered hand of the United States. The British delegation, in fact, outraged the Americans by openly intriguing with the Japanese over a division of the Chinese spoils. . . .

Of course, in any given situation, the British seek to use other powers to their advantage. This *Realpolitik* was not invented by and is not limited to England ; it was long ago nationalised in the United States. Merely to reiterate that the British try to get the best of any bargain is to be content with a very unprofitable truism.

If it is true that Anglo-American relations have been more cordial in the recent past than ever before, the explanation lies in Japan's thrust against China.

The immediate British stake in China, figured in cold cash, is immeasurably greater than that of the United States. The British do not like to switch their official affection from Japan to the United

States ; but they have no other alternative when Japan persists in aiming at monopoly power in eastern Asia as a prelude to the world domination which her Premier Tanaka envisioned. As for America, she has never failed to resist to the utmost any attempt to close the markets of China. When, until 1905, czarist Russia was the main threat to the " open door " to American goods, the United States assisted Japan as a counterweight against imperial Russia. After Japan disposed of czarist Russia and appropriated the latter's pretensions as well as some of her territory, American sympathy for Japan cooled. During and after the World War, it became frigid.

Closer to Soviet Russia

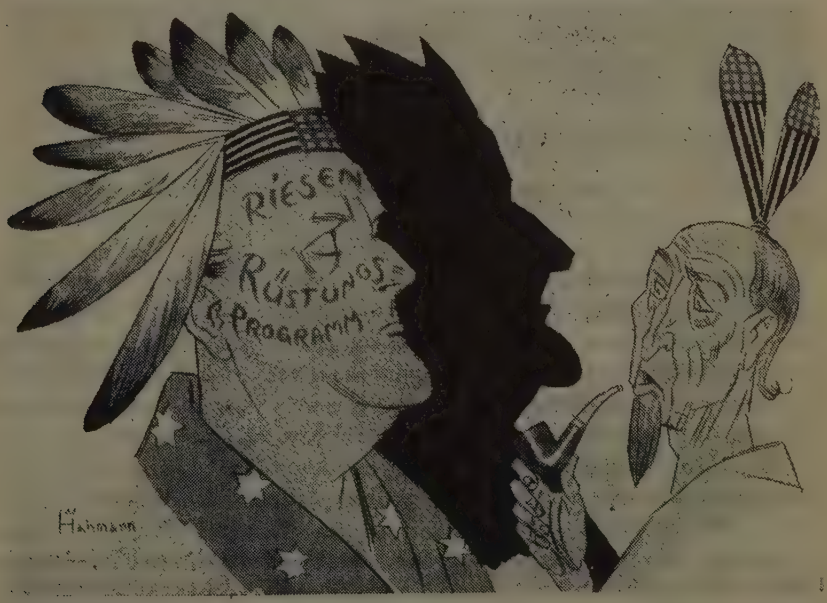
This brings us to a broader consideration. The isolationists may soon get tired of the British bogy as their main talking point. If so, their next horror story will be directed against Soviet–American co-operation. During the Coolidge and Hoover administrations especially, the United States treated the Soviet republic most miserably. But a change was inevitable for two general reasons. First, the peace of the United States is integrally bound up with world peace. As the aggressions pile up and as the fascist *bloc* coalesces, the United States, for its own safety and security, must find some common ground with all nations likewise committed to peace. This may be a process of slow education for some people, but it is an inevitable process nevertheless. Second, American capitalism, in its struggle to keep the Chinese market open, must seek to preserve China's territorial integrity and national sovereignty. Whether it likes to or not, American capitalism is forced, by the pressure of Japanese aggression, to look favourably upon other powers similarly disposed toward China's independence, though for altogether contrary reasons. The Soviet Union is the only power on the mainland of eastern Asia so disposed. This too is a gradual process, and the capitalists are certainly far from united on this score ; but there is every likelihood of closer and more friendly official relations between the United States and the Soviet Union against the fascist *bloc* which threatens both.

The isolationists have tried to muddle public opinion by carelessly jumbling together these problems of Anglo–American and Soviet–American relations with the navy bill. They have been assisted in this by the administration's own lack of decisiveness.

America's foreign policy is still on a twenty-four-hour basis. This can only mean that Mr. Roosevelt has not yet adopted any definite long-range plan but is prepared to do so, provided he gets sufficient popular support. No attempt has been made to modify or repeal the Neutrality Act. On the other hand, the most significant point in Admiral Leahy's testimony was his grouping together of the German, Italian and Japanese navies. If the administration follows this logic it must strive to meet the triple threat by a counter-grouping.

In any event, no navy bill is the solution to the crisis precipitated by Japan's aggression. Few of the big ships can possibly be finished before 1942–44 and their Japan or China will be finished before then.

The Anglo–American question deserves profounder interpretation than that of Albion's perfidy. The isolationists view the problem in the abstract and so deprive it of all real meaning. The proper question is not whether England and America shall co-operate, but whether



"*Kladderadatsch,*" WAR PAINT *Berlin.*

(Although Roosevelt's giant naval armaments programme is well supported, the Administration has been asked for a declaration on foreign policy).

"Are we to go on the war path, Great Chief?"—only a fool waits for an answer.

England and America can and shall co-operate *to maintain peace* and *discourage aggression.* Assuming that the present British government does not modify its pro-fascist diplomacy, an Anglo–American alliance would be ruinous. Co-operation between the two countries must rest on a healthy policy of collective security, otherwise it is meaningless or vicious. However, even without official co-operation, the United States can exercise an enormous influence on British policy by setting an example to the British electorate.

The isolationist mythology has it that Great Britain is trying to get the United States to pull its chestnuts out of the fire through the medium of collective security. Actually, the present British government is trying to pull the United States into the pro-fascist orbit, entirely against the interests of collective security. Should the British ever succeed in arranging their four-power *bloc*, leaving the Soviet Union in isolation and eastern Europe at the mercy of Hitler, their next step will be to get the United States to finance the deal as indicated in the van Zeeland report.

ROOSEVELT'S PLANS
Trade Weapon Against Fascism

From the Washington Correspondent of the "New Republic," New York.

MR. ROOSEVELT'S new naval programme might easily have been presented as a declaration of near-pacifism. There was no factual reason for its cock-on-a-dunghill tone. With complete truthfulness, Mr. Roosevelt might have said that, while foreign nations were known to be exceeding the Washington–London treaty limits, he did not mean to be dragged into this mad, reckless race, and wished merely to preserve our existing naval strength.

A considerable part of our fleet, built during the World War, is becoming over-age. The battleships *New York*, *Arkansas* and *Texas* not only have reached the age limit set by the Washington–London treaties, but are, in fact, too slow and decrepit to fight with the main battle fleet. Before 1942, under the Washington–London treaties, this country will be entitled to build no less than 13 new capital ships.

No one in the administration, of course, dreams of building this number.

As for cruisers, foreign naval authorities have always looked on the 10 light ships of the *Omaha* class as hideous mistakes, obsolescent before they were launched. Their retirement would permit the United States to fulfil the greater part of Mr. Roosevelt's proposed cruiser programme strictly within treaty limits.

Why, then, has Mr. Roosevelt's programme been announced to the accompaniment of *papier-mâché* firebrands? The naval building that he proposes is several years away, and all of it could be managed under the Washington–London treaties—which, in their day, were considered pacifist documents.

A number of diplomatic observers believe that the programme is not intended to be carried out at all, that it is simply a trading counter to be used in the international conference that Mr. Roosevelt earnestly hopes to call. Its chief effect is to establish by law a fleet limit of about 200,000 tons greater than that set in the Washington–London treaties. In a conference, Mr. Roosevelt could magnanimously agree to sink these 200,000 imaginary tons without hampering the navy's established building programme.

* * * *

Mr. Roosevelt's present course is certainly an unabashed reversal of the isolationist line this country has followed, with conspicuous interruptions, since the World War. It is a violation of the spirit of the neutrality laws of 1936–37. But it is not, as some of Mr. Roosevelt's critics have assumed, a witless international adventuring.

The heart of the administration's foreign policy is Mr. Hull's reciprocal trade treaty programme. Partly for reasons of domestic politics, the administration wishes this programme to be regarded solely as a dollars-and-cents affair. But, with the signing of the British treaty, Mr. Hull will have fashioned—at least in theory—an extraordinary weapon against the totalitarian states.

This can be easily shown. Suppose one of the totalitarian states, for example Germany, gains predominant political influence over a small, weak neighbour. The tangible objectives that Germany seeks will be raw materials and markets, and the visible sign of Germany's predominance will be an exclusive bartering arrangement. But such an arrangement conflicts directly and immediately with

Mr. Hull's programme. Germany's neighbour is obliged to choose between the totalitarian and democratic Powers. And, once the Anglo–American treaty is completed, if she should choose Germany, she would shut herself off from perhaps two-thirds of the world's trade.

Foreign diplomats here think that the first effects of the Anglo–American treaty will be observable in the Balkan countries that Dr. Schacht, a year or so ago, enticed within the German orbit—Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia. It is believed that they will be ineligible for the tariff reductions established by the treaty, and will find themselves virtually excluded from American and English markets, as well as the markets of some 20 other nations adhering to the Hull system.

The pressure to break away from Germany will be immense. An economic break with Germany will necessarily mean a political break, and Germany's push to the East will be temporarily brought to a halt.

* * * *

The administration's big-navy plan is merely a reinforcement for Mr. Hull's programme. With one hand, the two chief democratic Powers, the United States and England, create an ever-expanding area of relatively free world trade and invite the totalitarian countries to enter it. With the other hand, they heap up armaments, so that the present military efficiency of the totalitarian states, as the months go by, stands at a greater and greater discount. The end of these two processes, in the minds of Mr. Roosevelt and his advisers, is almost certainly an international conference, at which a new basis for world peace will be laid.

This policy is not unintelligent, nor brashly reckless. It has even a degree of nobility about it, and does not deserve to be attacked, as some Congressmen have attacked it, with a meat cleaver.

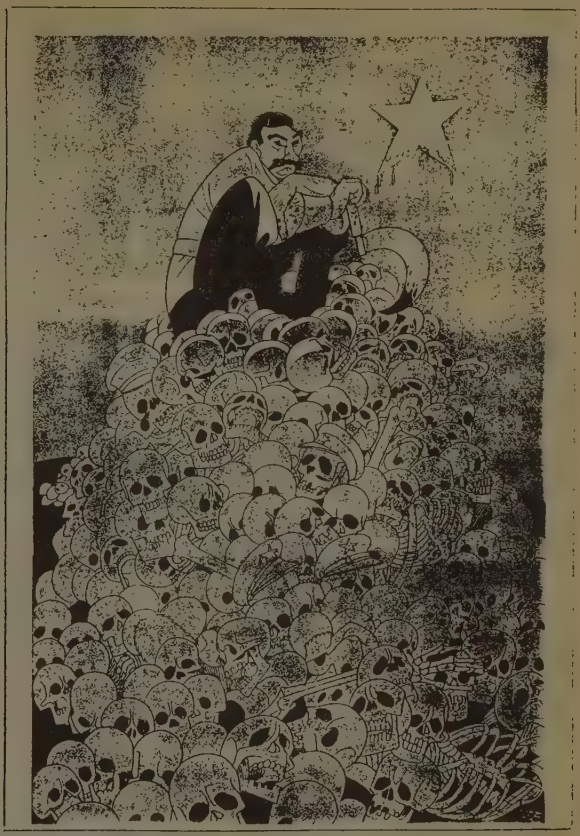
DO IT NOW

The head of a large business house bought a number of DO IT NOW signs and placed them around his offices. When, after the first few days of those signs, he counted up the results, he found :

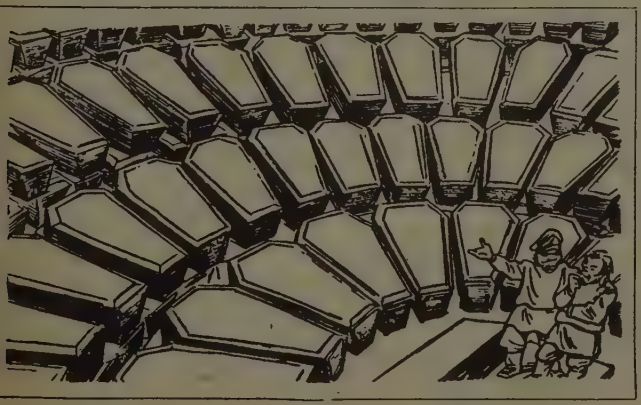
The cashier had skipped out with 50,000 dollars ; his assistant had eloped with the stenographer ; three employees had asked for a raise in salary.—" *Wall Street Journal.*"

STALIN'S EXECUTIONS

ALONE AT LAST



Doesse, "Haagsche Post," The Hague



"And those are the Opposition Benches . . ."

Tribuna d'Italia, Rome

WARMONGERING PRESS

How willing is Russia to fight outside her own frontiers in aid of China, or in fulfilment of her obligations to her allies, France and Czechoslovakia? Not willing at all, if this writer is a reliable guide.

From "Pravda," Moscow

AN interesting new phenomenon may be observed on the checkered and changing surface of what is presented to the reader by the bourgeois press as the international political situation.

Here the Tokyo newspaper *Yomiuri* publishes a message from the American journalist Knickerbocker, stating that "Soviet airplanes from Vladivostok are able to reach Tokyo and other points in Japan in a few hours." This informed American from Paris recommends to the Japanese, in the event of a war against the U.S.S.R. :

"First of all to subject the Vladivostok airdrome to heavy bombardment. From this viewpoint Vladivostok is like a revolver aimed at the back of Japan, and Japan cannot rest so long as this revolver is not diverted from her. But it will not be so easy to divert it. A powerful submarine base has been established on the Russian island..."

And so on, and so forth. . . .

Such is the American news from Paris on Vladivostok.

At the same time no less awe-inspiring news on Mongolia from Finland comes via Warsaw. The Warsaw correspondent of the Japanese newspaper *Asahi* asserts, with reference to information from Helsingfors, that Comrade Voroshilov is sure to attend the Far Eastern manoeuvres "which will be a demonstration against Japan."

How remarkably well informed he is! Or to be more exact, what purposeful imaginings!

The aim of the publication of this sort of "news" is fairly transparent. It becomes even clearer if we read the telegram addressed to Reuter's agency in London from Hong Kong. In this telegram some foreigner, in detail, describes the military preparations of the U.S.S.R. in the Far East. He emphasises that the Japanese Press, in speaking of the Soviet military preparations, is underestimating rather than exaggerating the situation.

The Soviet maritime provinces, continues the diligent foreigner, in which new air bases and submarine bases are being built, are virtually under martial law. Vladivostok alone has more than 100 submarines ready for action. In addition more submarines are arriving by rail unassembled, are assembled on the spot and immediately commissioned. At the same time the entire shoreline has been fortified and air and submarine bases are being built in remote regions.

At this very same time the British reactionary newspaper *Daily Telegraph and Morning Post* publishes hair-raising stories to the effect that the Soviet Union is prepared to accept positive undertakings in the Far East to resist the Japanese aggression, by agreement and after consultation with the other most interested countries, primarily Britain. In return for this the U.S.S.R. will demand compensation in the form of guarantees of its own security in the west.

Nor are some of the French editors asleep. The reactionary Paris newspaper *Jour* ominously refers to alleged extensive changes in the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. and to Soviet military preparations against Japan, and concludes :

" The situation in the Far East may become complicated in the spring by a Russo-Japanese clash. This hypothesis should make French policy more cautious. On the day when the Soviets find themselves tied up in the Far East the Franco-Soviet pact will lose all its value."

Meantime the zealous Knickerbocker continues to fabricate fresh sensations. He swears that the Soviet Far Eastern Army numbers one million men and has two thousand airplanes. By this inspired prevarication Knickerbocker eggs on the Japanese : " Even if in the event of a war Soviet aviation does not succeed in wiping out the Japanese air force in a few weeks, it is certain in any case that Soviet aviation will succeed in inflicting a crushing blow on Japanese aviation," he says.

But Knickerbocker is not content with this. From Paris he sends the newspaper *Japan Advertiser* alarming radiograms to the effect that the construction of the second Trans-Siberian Railway north of Lake Baikal has revolutionised Soviet military transport in the Far East.

True, so far the line does not actually exist, but Knickerbocker behaves as though he has been conductor on it all his life. He lucidly

describes the new facilities for the supply of the Soviet army, which is no longer inferior to the Japanese army, " in the main theatre of the Russo-Japanese war. . . ."

Behind all these agents, behind the Knickerbockers, stand their masters, the imperialists. They do not like to expose themselves, they keep behind the scenes, but it was to them that Lenin referred when he proposed " to explain to the people the real situation of how great is the secret in which war is born. . . ." International fascism is not content with the huge fires of war which are already aflame in various parts of the world. It is not content with Spain, China, the smouldering fires of Abyssinia. It wants still another nice little war, and the sooner the better. If possible let the Soviet Union be drawn into a military clash.

Among those who are ordering and inspiring the present campaign of lies and instigations we recognise the rulers not only of the

" Kladderadatsch," Berlin.

THE BRITISH REPORTER AT WORK

A journalist appeared in East Prussia recently to report on the " revolution " described in the British Press.

fascist states. The old wire-pullers of British imperialism, the old camp-followers who like to line their pockets at the expense of other people's fights, other people's blood, the British die-hard conservatives, have undoubtedly taken a hand in the latest newspaper gossip and provocations concerning the alleged military preparations of the Soviet Union in the Far East.

The delirious thought that the Soviet Union will make war upon Japan in return for some guarantees of security in the west, this vain-glorious cynical yarn could indeed have been conceived only in the softened brains of the British reactionaries. For it must be known from the reiterated statements of representatives of the Soviet Government that in the defence of its security the Soviet Union relies primarily on its own forces : the valiant Red Army and the invincible unity of the Soviet people. This is known to all honest people. Addressing the fascist gentlemen who were leaving the League of Nations because it does not encourage military adventures, Comrade V. M. Molotov, head of the Soviet Government, said at the Eighth (Special) All-Union Congress of Soviets : " But to speak quite frankly, as far as protecting the interests of peace and the peaceful labours of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. is concerned, we put our real trust solely in our own forces."

But lack of imagination does not weaken the appetites and energy of the British die-hards. They are attempting to utilise their connections and opportunities, they pull all possible diplomatic wires, they seek artificially to provoke a new military conflict in the Far East, to incite it from Tokyo, from Paris, from Geneva. Or, for instance, as our Press has reported, from Brussels :

" The representatives of the western powers were burning with the desire to bring the Soviet Union into a clash with Japan. Why, indeed, should not the U.S.S.R. support China ? Why should not the Soviet Union proclaim a mobilisation on the Manchurian or Mongolian borders ? Why not send air squadrons to Tokyo from Vladivostok in order to bring Japan to her senses in this way ? Sometimes cautiously, by insinuations, sometimes openly, by way of friendly suggestions, sometimes brazenly and insistently, various delegates and journalists sought to broach the matter to the Soviet delegation. Is it necessary to state what the reply of the representatives

of the U.S.S.R. to them was?" (*Bolshevik* No. 1, 1938). . . .

There is no denying the fact that Knickerbocker and his colleagues in various countries, together with all the newspaper-diplomatic-intelligence service agencies, are doing their shady work according to all the rules, according to all the traditions of international provocation. But in one thing, the main thing, they are miscalculating. They have chosen for their intrigues a most unsuitable object. No *agents provocateurs*, no warmongers, whether British or otherwise, will ever see the Soviet Union toeing the line of somebody else's policy, acting under anybody's pressure, in obedience to somebody else's promises. The Soviet Government, invariably pursuing the policy of peace, will wage war only on aggressors, only on infringers of the Soviet frontiers. No international noise orchestras of calumny and incitement can wear down the Soviet iron fortitude and calmness.

MODERN CAVEMAN SPEECH

What was good enough for the cavemen is good enough for moderns of 1938 —at least, so it would seem on examination of figures of speech employed based on caveman existence.

William Hawley Davis, Professor of English at Stanford University and Editor of the Stanford University Press, has a collection of nearly 3,000 figures of speech that are "part and parcel" of everyone's vocabulary.

"A surprising revelation made by a collection of everyday figures of speech," Professor Davis said, "is that existence on the cavemen level is still so real to average persons. To the caveman, a 'bone of contention' and 'cut-throat competition' meant more than they do to us; but we still use each freely. Literally, as we do figuratively, the caveman 'wielded a big stick,' 'left no stone unturned,' 'kept an ear to the ground,' found 'a bird in the hand worth two in the bush,' 'killed two birds with one stone,' 'let sleeping dogs lie,' avoided 'the dirty end of the stick,' caught culprits 'red-handed,' 'vaulted over' some difficulty, and 'fell into a pit of his own digging'."—*Christian Science Monitor, Boston.*

LONDON SNAPSHOTS

A shop in Oxford Street offers as a tasteful paper weight a model of a British soldier in India firing a machine-gun at the people of that country.

An Admiral thinks the British Navy may still be able to get through the Straits of Gibraltar on a foggy day.

I visit the Foreign Office after eighteen months and find that there is still no telephone for the use of journalists nearer than the street call-box in Whitehall. The diplomatic correspondents know what Czechoslovakia ought to do, but I will take what they write seriously when they have proved they have sufficient political ability to get themselves a telephone installed.—*Frank Pitcairn, "The Eye," London.*

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The Editor welcomes letters from readers, which should be kept as short as possible

SEEN FROM SHANGHAI

Our readers may have noticed a letter headed "Japanese in Shanghai" in our February issue, in which a correspondent spoke in the most optimistic and approving terms of the Japanese invasion of China. Here the same writer again reports on the situation, revealing a significant change of opinion.

SIR,—Shanghai is recovering, but people are still uncertain as to what will be our lot when the Japanese army retire and come through Shanghai on their way out. It appears at present that there is a stale-mate and that really the Japanese army command does not know what move to make next in order to bring about a cessation of the very costly invasion. The Japanese people do not seem to be at all in sympathy with the unexpected action on the part of the army, who have through plunder, pillage and atrocity gone far beyond what was deemed necessary to impress on the Chinese the "friendliness of the Japanese people and their desire for trade agreements and understanding between the two countries." It would appear that the army have completely upset even the plans of the Government and have gone so far that the Japanese people and the Government are demanding of the army a more conciliatory attitude to follow their punitive efforts.

We, here, do not feel at all happy so long as there is a strong force of the Japanese army about us. The naval landing party and the diplomats are reasonable and with the business people we can be quite friendly, but the arrogance of the army and their total disregard of humanity has been a shock to the world.

If the Japanese can find no Chinese Government representative with whom to negotiate peace terms, they must promulgate so-called peace terms with the puppet regime which they themselves have set up, and which will not be recognised by the Republic of China. When they come to retire from the provinces which they have invaded, they will be harassed by guerrilla warfare and will, I imagine, be in a very sorry state when they reach the coast.

It looks as though the country between here and Wuhu along the south bank of the Yangtsze River has been fairly widely laid waste, but as soon as opportunity has offered, farmers have returned to their homes, although the merchant folk are a bit slower. It will be many years before the mill and factory owners will be able to recommence operations on anything like former scale, which is, of course, what the Japanese are counting on.

J. E.

Shanghai.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SIR,—For about nine years I have lived in Europe and have been home only a few months. My contacts have not been exclusively with Americans, but mainly with Europeans, and we have exchanged views on various subjects.

I should like to take this opportunity of saying that several responsible Germans and Austrians have told me that there never would have been a World War in 1914 had the Germans known which side England would go on.

It is my sincere hope that the present shake-up in the British Cabinet will be the forerunner of a strong, firm policy which will show the world definitely which side Britain will be on in case of a war.

I spend about three or four months a

year in Czecho-Slovakia with the nationals of that country, and I do not agree with Dorothy Thompson and most other people that the integrity of that country should be guarded.

Czecho-Slovakia is a state that never should have been made in the first place, like many other divisions of the Versailles Treaty. It is, as an Austrian friend of mine says, "ein Saison-Staat"—a temporary state.

Everyone hates the Czechs and no other nationals within that country care to be governed by them. The Germans want to belong to Germany, the Moravians to Austria and the Slovaks want to go back to Hungary.

It is a country where the Communistic element is very strong, where censorship is very severe (even personal letters of people who have no political connection with the country are opened), and where one must be very careful what one says. This is the way the Czechs keep the country together.

What a pity that these various nationals and lands cannot peacefully go back where they belong and where they want to be. But can you imagine the Czechs—for the cause of peace in Central Europe—big-heartedly handing over these lands and peoples? I can't.

New York. M. E. W.

INTERFERENCE

SIR,—I was interested, after reading the symposium of views on the short-lived Goga cabinet in Rumania in your February issue, to follow the course of events in that country. It was particularly interesting to find that our Socialists (*vide* "*The New Statesman*") claim with approval that Goga's removal was directly due to pressure exerted by Mr. Eden and Lord Cranborne on King Carol. If this is not interference in the internal affairs of another country, what is?

London. GEORGE AUSTIN.

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INTERNATIONAL BOOKSHELF

The Editor reminds his readers that he does not necessarily share the opinions expressed by reviewers in this section. But this is a free country and knows no censorship

THREE-STARRED GUIDE

SOUTH OF HITLER. By M. W. Fodor. *Allen & Unwin.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by C. A. MACARTNEY.

MR. FODOR'S publishers do him no service in running down, by implication, his professional colleagues in their silly "puff." He does not need this bit of bad taste, for his book is evidence enough, even to those who do not know his despatches in the *Manchester Guardian*, of the width and depth of his knowledge. His twenty years' experience of central and south-eastern Europe (i.e. the territory of the old Dual Monarchy, excluding Poland, and the Balkans, including Turkey), is almost unrivalled, and it is an excellent thing that he should now set them down ; the more so as he is not only well-informed, but also very fair.

The obvious criticism is that no single book could cover so vast and complex a subject except superficially ; particularly since Mr. Fodor has not contented himself with surveying the various countries (ten in number) "south of Hitler," but has also given us essays on current political ideas and trends common to all or several of them : the position of the peasants, the ebb and flow of monarchy, the intellectual origins of Fascism and Nazism. It is true that some of the countries described have to be content with a few pages apiece, and quite a number of important peoples and problems with only a few lines. Even these, however, are, as a rule, well worth reading, at least for those who can be satisfied with a bird's eye-view of the subject. The shortest passages are at least summary rather than superficial. Naturally, however, the chapters in which the author allows himself the most scope are the most satisfactory. These are chiefly the sections dealing with Austria's affairs, both internal and external. These chapters are in every way excellent ; fair, accurate and well written. They constitute quite the best account of Austrian affairs since 1933 which has yet appeared in English. By contrast, the section on the hardly less important Sudeten–German problem is sketchy, although accurate; that on Hungarian revisionism sketchier still ; while the minority problem outside Czechoslovakia is hardly touched on at all.

In his conclusions, Mr. Fodor is somewhat surprisingly optimistic. He regards his chosen field as a lunatic asylum, though a pleasant one ; but he emphasises that for all its madness, it somehow manages to carry on, often without any great perturbation, at times when western Europe is trembling for its fate. He is alive to the true instability and contradictory character of the Rome–Berlin "axis," and believes that the threat of it will sooner or later drive the smaller countries into the closer co-operation which is the only true solution

of their troubles. He sees a graver potential danger in the possibility, one day, of a German–Russian alliance.

The style is eminently readable, in spite of an occasional word or phrase which is not entirely English. The lively Viennese jokes and anecdotes with which they are copiously interlarded, help to make the pages entertaining as well as instructive.

REVOLUTION FROM INSIDE

I KNEW HITLER. By Kurt Ludecke. *Jarrolds.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by H. Powys Greenwood.

Whatever else may be said about it, this book is both absorbing and revealing. The author is an adventurer with a rather dubious record, but typical of many who joined the Nazis in the early days of the movement. Although most of his time was spent abroad—sometimes on various wild-goose-chase "missions" for the Nazi Party—he was apparently well-known to the inner circle of leaders and to Hitler himself. Shortly after the Revolution he found himself in a concentration camp—the discerning reader will not find it very difficult to see why; eventually he managed to escape abroad and now lives in America.

Not a very reliable witness, one would think. None the less, those parts of the book which deal with his personal experiences and contacts with Nazi leaders seem to me eminently credible; his detailed description of the rise of the movement is readable and fairly accurate; while his political judgments, on the other hand, are obviously unsound and the dramatisation of his own very minor role verges on the ludicrous. At the time of his arrest he had virtually succeeded in getting a mandate to Nazify the United States from a position as Press Attaché at Washington.

The real interest of the book lies in its vivid portrayal of Hitler and his immediate entourage, and above all of the overheated atmosphere of intrigue in the Nazi Party. The following secret conversation between Roehm and the author, just before the June 30th purge, while the latter was on parole from his concentration camp, has the authentic ring:

> *Roehm*: "Hitler can't walk over me as he might have done a year ago; I've seen to that. Don't forget that I now have three million men, with every key position in the hands of my own people. Hitler knows that. Oh, no, it's not going to be so simple as that—Blomberg here and Roehm there. I also have friends in the Reichswehr, you know."
>
> *Ludecke*: "Just what do you intend to do?"
>
> *Roehm*: "If Hitler is reasonable I shall settle the matter quietly; if he isn't, I must be prepared to use force—not for my sake but for the sake of our revolution. And that's where you come in. I need a representative abroad I can trust implicitly—someone so familiar with the whole situation that Hitler will know I mean business. You know he thinks you a remarkable but dangerous fellow. . . . Yes, that's what he said."

Austrian independence, demands for colonies, intervention in Spain, the problem of Russia

occupied the mind of a

Dictator

over a century ago, in his determination to destroy this country

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CASSELL

Since the book is dedicated to the victims of the purge, a conversation tending so clearly to justify Hitler's action can scarcely have been falsified or invented as propaganda. It looks as though the author was trying to tell the truth, however false the conclusions he drew from it.

The most significant conversation reported is one with Hitler in the summer of 1932, dealing mainly with foreign policy. Herr Ludecke had been putting forward his pet policy of a Nazi *rapprochement* with the Soviets coupled with greater stress on socialism in Germany. But the *Führer* said no. The capitalists would take fright and Stalin might leave him in the lurch to face a preventive war —the Nazi bogey. He must play ball with capitalism. " It would be better to ally myself with Italy and Japan and play along with England, even if I can't get her friendship. . . . That's the only way to come through the danger period, to get rid of Versailles and re-arm."

Whether Hitler actually said this or not, he has certainly done it. But what of the future—after the " danger period " ? According to the author, Hitler went on : " If England opposes a Greater Germany at all costs, all right. I still think that Mussolini might be interested in making Germany so strong that together we could force John Bull to his knees." And finally : " I have only one thought, one will that animates me day and night—to make Germany great, the greatest power on earth. And if you visualise a Greater Germany side by side with Russia, I tell you that I can see a German Reich stretching from the North Sea to the Urals, but without a Stalin "

Did Hitler say something of the kind ? It is very likely. He is a visionary, a dreamer, and from the first his dream has been of a Greater Germany in Central and Eastern Europe. The colonial question has been raised more or less as an afterthought. It may be, as Berlin maintains in the present tentative Anglo–German negotiations, that the only direct question between England and Germany is that of colonies. But at bottom the real issue is the attitude of Great Britain towards German aims in Europe.

Those aims are not likely to be given up. But Herr Ludecke does have one cheerful thought with us, though it is not cheerful to him. Hitler has always paid attention to facts and modified his politics accordingly. The bullets which quelled the Munich " putsch " in 1923 were facts, and much to Herr Ludecke's disgust Hitler insisted on sticking to " legal " methods thereafter. Pilsudski's firm attitude, in 1933, was a fact and produced the German–Polish agreement. Luckily there are other facts in European politics to-day and there is no reason to suppose that Hitler will ignore them.

DIARY OF DEFEAT

CONQUEST OF THE PAST. By Prince Hubertus Loewenstein. *Faber*. 15*s*.

Reviewed by MAJOR B. T. REYNOLDS

PRINCE LOEWENSTEIN comes of a family that has its origins deep in German history. They were hereditary Counts of the Empire before Prussia even existed. The author's views on the historical mission of Germany have been set forth at length in his earlier works, and will probably be known to most readers. He holds to the ecumenical ideal of the Holy Roman Empire (the First Reich), and rejects the narrow racialism of Hitler's Third Reich. This fascinating autobiography shows how the vision gradually took shape. It also illuminates the history of the period by the light that it throws on life and social conditions in Germany.

The author was born in 1906 at the Castle of Schoenwoerth in Tirol. His father had resigned his commission in the German army and was living the life of the pre-War landed nobility. Financial losses put an end to this state of affairs and the family retired to a resort in Upper Austria favoured by impoverished Austrian and German aristocrats. The principal topic of conversation appears to have been the *Almanach de Gotha.* The child's mind revolted from the sterility of this atmosphere and found food for his imagination in the past.

The present soon intruded on his dreams. The long discussed World War broke out. The description of the life of a school-boy in Austria and Germany during the war years gives a vivid idea of the atmosphere in which the author's generation grew up. Hungry and short of every necessity, November, 1918, still found them incredulous of German defeat and resolved to continue the struggle by any and every means.

Enthusiasm for republican colours did not last long. Apart from the odium attaching to the regime that had signed the Peace Treaty, the Republic was from the start "bad form," with the upper and middle classes. The author threw himself into the political battles of the time before he had even left school, and proceeded to work his way through the various "faiths" that were current at the time. He met Hitler in 1923 but did not fall under his spell.

It was not until 1930 that he finally "discovered" the Republic under which he had been living for twelve years. He joined the Republican Front, thereby estranging himself from his family and his class and earning the title of the "Red Prince." It was obvious that the Republic was in danger and he threw all his energies into the work of organisation. It is typical of conditions at the time that his youthful troop had more than once to defend itself from simultaneous attacks coming from National Socialists on the one side, and Communists on the other.

The tale told by his diary from now on until 1933 is that of a losing battle gallantly fought. The Weimar Republic was not perfect, but if a few more men like Prince Loewenstein had been able to "discover" it in time, events might have fallen out very differently. This book supplies the reason why so few were able to do so.

¿PASARÁN?

BURGOS JUSTICE. By Antonio Ruiz Vilaplana. *Constable.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

SPAIN BETWEEN DEATH AND BIRTH. By Peter Merin. *John Lane.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by JOHN MARKS

AN anti-Nationalist and an anti-Fascist book by authors who have lived in White and Red Spain respectively. The former should delight the inveterate "nothing to choose between them" school of isolationists, as it is a crushing indictment of the Terror practised in Nationalist Castile and describes many cases of summary execution as "regrettable" and revolting as the wholesale murders that occurred in Government territory early on in the war, Madrid's quota alone being credibly assessed at 40,000.

Following the usual formula for books on this bloody ideological conflict, *Burgos Justice* is divided into two parts: what the author saw with his own eyes, and the opinions he has gathered or formed. It is too direct and sincere in tone—at any rate in the first part—to leave much doubt as to the truth of the author's assertions. Horrible as they are, they must be credited not so much because Sr. Vilaplana is a prominent lawyer who retained his important posts

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in Burgos for almost a year under Spain's new masters (quitting them voluntarily, in disgust) as because the very style of his accusations, undistinguished and a little stilted, has an honesty that carries full conviction. Obviously the translation, by Mr. Horsfall Carter, is faithful to the exact character of this liberal bourgeois Republican's protest against military injustice and oppression. The unsupported charges made by a peer in the House of Lords, which are denied in a preface to the book, naturally predispose us in the author's favour, as they seem far pettier and more gratuitous than his own sneering criticisms of Franco and his friends in Part II. Unfortunately these do not invalidate the force of his earlier descriptions of brutality, though in themselves largely personal, exaggerated and of a qualified interest. To give their gist, Sr. Vilaplana despises Franco as "the real representative in Spain of foreign Fascism," half-admired Mola, "the most intelligent member of the rebel clique," and despairs of Queipo; he prefers the Phalangists to all other followers of Franco, particularly the bureaucratic reactionary element in mediaeval Burgos that is opposed to the less hidebound spirit of Salamanca; most of all, after the insolent German and Italian invaders, he detests Conservative Catholic members of his own middle class, and the Nationalist clergy. But what he actually saw of horror—and his job was to certify the bodies of "cleaned up" victims—is the valid, ghastly purport of this work.

Herr Merin's book has been brilliantly translated by Mr. Charles Fullman. He, or his translator, in vibrant cinematographic style, with lavish use of the dramatic present, interlarded historical parallels, italics, and a catch in the voice, has produced an exciting account of things seen and felt in Spain. With its 30 admirable photographs, it is a generous 12*s.* 6*d.*-worth offered by the publishers as "definitely and frankly written from the Left standpoint, but without fanaticism." Without fanaticism it would be half the book it is and not worth half the price. Only from Dos Passos and Scott-Watson have we had such a vivid picture of Madrid under siege; from Steer and Delaprée so intense a plea for sympathy with "the People" pitted against "the Generals"; from Waldo Frank such erudite presentation of history's kaleidoscope in play. Other books on the Civil War had other merits, but Herr Merin, who went to Spain as a writer, must unquestionably be counted among the most talented of Barcelona's many and able propagandists.

EUGENICS AND RACE

HEREDITY AND POLITICS. By J. B. S. Haldane. *Allen & Unwin.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

RACE: A STUDY IN MODERN SUPERSTITION. By Jacques Barzun. *Methuen.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by JACQUES COCHEMÉ

EUGENICS and the notion of race are important condiments in contemporary politics—the first as a showy platform and the other as a strong cement for heterogeneous elements.

Professor Haldane apologises for having written a lay book on human biology with the argument that other professional biologists with whom he disagrees have presented their opinions to the public.

There is no need to make excuses; the book justifies itself. It is excellent. It clearly defines and limits the contribution of biology to the elucidation of the accumulated and much discussed data on the burning topics of ancestry, antecedents, environment and progeny.

Professor Haldane does not think that there is, so far, much of a case for sterilisation of the so-called unfit.

The present knowledge of human heredity does not justify, directly or indirectly, compulsory sterilisation as now practised by some of the States of America and European nations. That compulsory sterilisation might be a successful way to eradicate hereditary diseases is only practicably true when the culprit is "a dominant gene that manifests itself in 100 per cent of cases and early in life." It would not account for genes arising by mutation; and, "where, however, the disease is dangerous to life or, alternatively, lowers fertility, the proportion of all cases which is due to mutation is much larger." Sterilisation would, therefore, be least effective where the disease is most serious. Lastly, the operation necessary endangers life, especially with women, and it may be that its demand is the symptom of a state of mind arising out of present-day class distinctions.

Professor Haldane does not think that differential birth rate is a serious evil. Passing on to the growth of populations and positive eugenics one is confronted by the fact that nowadays the poor have more children than the rich. Intelligence tests have shown that the children of the rich, especially those of professional classes, are more intelligent than children coming from less fortunate strata. It is even suggested, due allowance being made for the influence of nurture, that one should expect, on the strength of this, a steady decrease in the intelligence of nations where such a disparity prevails. This is, however, contradicted by the evidence of the Mahommedans of Western Asia, where the rich have for the last thousand years been considerably more prolific than the poor, since they can afford more wives; their intelligence is not superior to that of the monogamous Christians and Jews who surround them.

Measures to increase the birth-rate of the rich, mainly economic in nature, are discussed; also the advisability of eutelegenesis or semi-artificial multiplication of specially well gifted men.

On the whole Professor Haldane seems to think that such problems of positive eugenics will take care of themselves, or rather, be taken care of by agents which will not do much thinking in terms of biology.

"A consideration of biology does not in my opinion justify the perpetuation of class distinctions." To-day Professor Haldane's opinion on such matters is as good as many.

The book ends by circumscribing the elusive and much perverted topic of race with several sensible sayings. The extension of the word "race" has been submitted to such acrobatics that its stretching and shrinking leaves one giddy. Its criteria are geographical origin and natural characteristics. Examining populations on the score of the second, and apart from the difficulty introduced by the choice of relevant characteristics, one can, especially when the differences within a race are greater than those between races, as with cranial index, concentrate on the apices of the frequency distributions to the absurd point of being blind to anything else or focus on the overlaps and expose the absurdities they reveal.

This last task is admirably well performed by Mr. Jacques Barzun, also the author of *The French Race*. He writes with considerable erudition and sustained dry passion and, at times, an expertly wielded cynical humour. A history of race consciousness is traced with Tacitus and the French historians of the eighteenth century as landmarks.

Such a book is very opportune to-day.

THE WORLD OF FINANCE

CONFIDENCE SHATTERED

by "RAPIER"

HOPES of economic and political appeasement in Europe which had been based on Mr. Chamberlain's policy of direct negotiations with Italy and Germany were rudely shattered by recent events in Austria. The already sickly plant of confidence wilted under the icy blasts from Berlin, whose ruthless exhibition of power politics profoundly shook the Chancelleries of Europe. The Van Zeeland report which was born into an almost heedless world must now be considered a dead letter. Yet another free national economy becomes fettered and chained. For it would be impossible for Germany to allow an integral part of its national economy, as Austria has now become, to function as a back-door for the escape of fugitive capital from the Reich.

It seems inevitable that the Austrian schilling must be replaced by the Reichsmark, that the resources of the Austrian Central Bank in gold and foreign exchange must be handed over to the Reichsbank and that the foreign trade and industry of Austria must become subjected to the same rigid controls and planned economy as those of Germany. The realisation of these restrictions may take some of the gilt off the gingerbread and somewhat subdue the delirious enthusiasm with which the *Anschluss* was first greeted.

At the worst, Europe faces a period of ever-increasing tension, and at the best a further lowering of its standards of life by an intensification of the crushing burden of armaments. In the light of these considerations the markets of the world in mid-March faced yet another "Black Monday" following a week-end of political tension. London as usual had to bear the brunt of the impact of the forces released by fear and act as a clearing house for Continental liquidation. The weakest feature was naturally Central European bonds, which were marked down drastically. Germany will now become responsible for interest payments on Austrian bonds and the service of the debt becomes subject to the rigid controls already established in the Reich in these matters. Following Mr. Chamberlain's speech in the Commons on the next day there was a slump in British Funds caused by his forecast of a speeding-up and enlargement of British rearmament, which caused market operators to envisage a considerable increase in taxation to that already feared, and the possibility of an addition to the £400,000,000 which the Government is already empowered to borrow over the five years from April, 1937. There is no support from theory for the idea that increased taxation should affect the level of stock-market quotations, but in the short run the public mind is always adversely affected by this prospect, and industrial shares as well as the Funds were marked down irrespective of their

individual merits. Already there has been a rally from the lowest points touched, and when nerves have become steadier both the immediate past and the future will be viewed in calmer perspective. But until the budget is out of the way on April 28th, it is unlikely that any great activity can be expected. Uncertainty is always the greatest enemy to business and confidence; though confidence can be shattered in a breath, it cannot be restored by a wave of a magic wand.

The Rush to Safety

In the foreign exchange market there was a complete reversal of the previous trends. The dollar, which for many months has been under suspicion by the Continent, once again became the bulwark among the shifting sands of the world's currencies, and Wall Street a refuge for fugitive Continental balances. The flight of capital was mainly confined to the smaller countries contiguous to Germany whose safety appeared threatened, such as Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland. But it was not only into dollars that this flight occurred, but also into gold. The British Exchange Equalisation Fund was called on to provide gold amounting daily to around £1,000,000 to satisfy the demands of Continental hoarders. Gold was also exported from Switzerland by air to be stored in safe keeping in London vaults. In fact, we saw once more the familiar phenomenon of a rush for liquidity.

The French franc has also experienced a period of acute weakness owing to dissatisfaction with the apparently stopgap Cabinet formed by M. Blum after M. Chautemps' resignation. The weakness of the franc is no longer caused by international bear speculation, but by a flight from the franc by those who lack confidence in the stability of the Government. Perhaps by the time these

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words appear in print France may at last have formed a Cabinet of National Union, which is sadly needed in these critical days.

Reform of Wall Street

Wall Street, insulated by distance from the prevailing tension in Europe, has given a better account of itself recently, and though signs of business recovery are still few and far between in the States a more optimistic feeling prevails. Wall Street has, however, had its own shock to confidence to compete with in the failure of the stock exchange firm of Richard Whitney and the indictment for grand larceny of its senior partner, Richard Whitney, a past President of the New York Stock Exchange. This unfortunate occurrence has more than a personal implication as it raises afresh the whole question of Wall Street's ability to set its own house in order, and strengthens the hands of those, both inside and outside the Administration, who call for external control of Wall Street. It is credibly reported from America that this incident has even revived the popularity of the New Deal in the eyes of the man in the street and strengthened President Roosevelt's hands in his campaign of reform, a campaign which he has always put in the forefront—even before that of recovery. Whatever may be the ultimate effects upon policy of this scandal, there are signs that the Senate is showing some independence and may further amend the unpopular undistributed profits and capital gains taxes. If the Senate stands firm in its determination and if the signs of seasonal improvement in business hold, there is some prospect that the worst of the depression in America is over and that the forces of recovery may gather strength in coming months.

DIARY OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS: FEB. 13–MARCH 13

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

In view of difficulties in the working of the Austro–German Agreement of July, 1936, which were causing dangerous tension, Herr von Schuschnigg, the Austrian Chancellor, was invited by Herr Hitler to a discussion at Berchtesgaden (February 12th). Yielding to a virtual ultimatum, the Austrian Government agreed, within a suggested time-limit (February 15th) to appoint Dr. von Seyss-Inquart, a moderate National-Socialist, as Home Minister, to amnesty political offenders, and to admit the Austrian Nazis to political activity within the Fatherland Front (the only legal party).

In his speech on February 20th (see below) Herr Hitler described the new measures as a "supplement within the four corners of the Agreement of 1936," but did not otherwise affirm Austria's independence. This omission was supplied by Herr von Schuschnigg in a speech to the Diet on February 24th; Herr Hitler had, he said, renewed his pledge of non-interference and agreed that Austrian Nazis should expect neither toleration within Austria nor support from outside; confiding in Herr Hitler's word, they had gone to the limits set by the Constitution of 1934: "thus far and no further!" While recognising Austria's German mission he insisted on her will to freedom; he denied that she was abandoning the Rome Protocols or her friendship with Italy and he appealed for unity in the cause of a free Christian, German Austria.

In Italy, despite official approval of the Agreement, the Press showed uneasiness at Herr Hitler's silence about Austria's independence. On the other hand Herr von Schuschnigg's references, on Feb. 24, to Italy's friendship and the Rome protocols were welcomed. In France the Agreement was regarded as an alienation of Austria's independence; the British attitude, as stated by Mr. Chamberlain (March 3rd) was that, while its effects must be closely watched, the Agreement did not in itself contravene the Treaty of St. Germain.

Dr. Seyss-Inquart, who had gone to Berlin at once on appointment, to confer with Herr Hitler and his ministers, said to a meeting of Nazi delegates at Linz (March 5th) that Austria desired an independence resting, not on the peace treaties, but on the Reich's guarantee.

Herr von Schuschnigg, speaking at Innsbruck on March 9th, again declared that he would fulfil the Berchtesgaden Agreement, "but not a comma more"; a plebiscite would, he announced, be held on March 14th to decide whether the people desired "a free, Christian German, independent and united Austria."

The Nazis alleged that the plebiscite offered no guarantees of impartiality. The German Press described Herr von Schuschnigg as having enlisted the communists to terrorise the Nazis, whom the Reich must hasten to protect. A German army corps was mobilised at Munich; events followed rapidly: on March 11th successive demands were presented to the Austrian Government. First, that the ballot should be secret; then that it should be postponed; next, that Herr von Schuschnigg should retire, that two-thirds of the Ministers should be Nazis, and that the Austrian "Legionaries" should be admitted to keep the peace. President Miklas at first stood firm, but yielded to the threat of armed force. Herr von Schuschnigg resigned and, in a farewell broadcast at 6.30 p.m., forbade resistance to the Germans. Late that evening Herr von Seyss-Inquart, who replaced him as Chancellor, telegraphed to Berlin for German troops to maintain order. This

was at once granted; German air-infantry reached Vienna next morning, and a motorised detachment was established on the Italian frontier at the Brenner by 1 p.m. Herr von Schuschnigg and some of the Austrian leaders were placed under protective arrest; others fled over the border.

On March 12th Hitler crossed the frontier. At Linz he was met by Herr von Seyss-Inquart who declared, on behalf of Austria, that Article 88 of the Treaty of St. Germain (forbidding alienation of Austria's independence) had ceased to be valid. Herr Hitler foretold that a popular vote would shortly pronounce against a division of the German nation. A proclamation read on the same day by Dr. Goebbels, on Herr Hitler's behalf, recalled the methods of terrorism used by "a small minority" of Austrians to oppress the people; this situation the *Führer* had hoped to remedy by the Berchtesgaden Agreement; the intended plebiscite had been an artifice to evade its fulfilment and outlaw the majority. The people had risen against it and, as attempts to suppress them must have led to civil strife, he had, at the new government's invitation, lent the aid of his troops.

On March 13th President Miklas resigned, and was provisionally replaced by Herr von Seyss-Inquart. It was announced that Austria was now a State of the German Reich, and that a plebiscite would be held on April 10th, to decide by a majority as to the union. On the same day Herr Hitler proclaimed that the Austrian army now formed part of the German army, under his command. On March 14th he made his entry into Vienna.

Italian official circles were at first embarrassed by the events of March 11th, of which they had no warning. In a personal letter, received on March 12th, Herr Hitler assured Signor Mussolini that his action was "legitimate national defence," recalled the feelings he had manifested for Italy in a critical hour, and which were unchangeable, and declared that, as he had fixed a definite frontier towards France, he now fixed one—the Brenner—towards Italy.

In a statement published on March 13th, the Fascist Grand Council declared that the Italian government had only learned *post factum*, of the intended Schuschnigg plebiscite and had advised against it; that the events in Austria were the manifest expression of the Austrian people's will; and that Italy had declined a French invitation to join in action against Germany, as it would merely have complicated the situation. Herr Hitler telegraphed (March 13th) that he would never forget what Signor Mussolini had done.

On March 11th the British and French ambassadors in Berlin protested strongly against the coercion of an independent State, pointing out the grave reactions it might produce. The German Foreign Office rejected the protests as based on incorrect information. Baron von Neurath, in a written reply said that dangers would only result if third states sought to impede the German nation's right of self-determination.

An assurance that Germany nourished no hostile intent against Czechoslovakia and respected the 1925 Arbitration Treaty was given to that country's Minister at Berlin on March 12th by Field Marshal Goering.

HERR HITLER'S SPEECH

In his speech to the Reichstag on February 20th, Herr Hitler renewed his claim for the return of the colonies (except those in the Far East), rejecting all substitutes, or the coupling of the claim with other matters; condemned the League as a perpetuator of injustices, unable to afford genuine help, and refused ever to return to it; announced the recognition of Manchukuo; extolled German–Italian friendship as a stabilising factor in Europe, and its extension to Japan as a bulwark against Bolshevism which would alone benefit by a Japanese defeat in China; insisted that Germany, like Italy, was opposed to a Bolshevist triumph in Spain; preferred the ex-

change of diplomatic notes to conferences, in view of the Press campaigns in France and England which were endangering peace, and which necessitated an increase in the army ; and declared that the protection of ten million Germans, deprived of rights in two adjacent states, was an interest of the Reich ; a solution of this problem was, he said, possible with goodwill, but resistance to it must end in conflicts.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

M. Hodza, addressing the parliament (March 4th), declared that the country would settle its minority problem independently ; equal rights were, he said, guaranteed to all citizens irrespective of nationality ; the Reich's claim of protection would amount to interference in internal affairs, and this, Czechoslovakia would resist with her whole might ; he welcomed M. Delbos's pledge of support in the French Chamber on February 26th and Mr. Chamberlain's adherence to Mr. Eden's statement of June 24th, 1937 ; he was anxious for an understanding with Germany—but on equal terms—on what was mainly a psychological problem. President Benes, in an interview with the *Sunday Times* on March 6th, said that his country could never negotiate on the minority problem officially with a foreign Power ; she would maintain the Minorities Treaty for which she was answerable to the League ; a federal solution of the question was impracticable owing to the geographical distribution of the German population. Czechoslovakia was linked to the Western Powers by common democratic ideals, and he trusted they would never abandon her.

THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

In the land war the Nationalists, following up their previous success, recaptured Teruel on February 22nd and continued their advance, having, as they claimed, inflicted losses of 10,000 dead and 16,000 wounded on the enemy in ten weeks' fighting on this front. At sea, the Republican destroyers attacked a Nationalist cruiser squadron off Cape Palos on March 6th and sank the *Baleares* (10,000 tons). On March 5th, General Franco launched a new offensive south of Saragossa. By March 13th after a succession of victories the Nationalists had arrived within 60 miles of the Ebro Delta.

BALKAN STATES

The new Rumanian constitution, adopted by a plebiscite on February 24th contains an article forbidding the passage of foreign troops through Rumania without special legislative sanction; thus barring the despatch of Russian troops to Czechoslovakia *via* Rumania.

In a communiqué issued (February 28th) after their meeting at Ankara, the Balkan Entente (Rumania, Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia) affirmed their fidelity to the League, but rejected interference in their internal affairs—a reservation related to the abovementioned question of the Rumanian Jews; they further advocated an exchange of agents with the Spanish Nationalist government, without, however, departing from non-intervention, and they recommended Greece and Turkey to conform to the policy of Rumania and Yugoslavia in accrediting Ministers to the King of Italy as Emperor of Ethiopia, Italy being asked, in return, to adhere to the (Straits) Convention of Montreux.

EUROPEAN PEACE

The events on February 20th, led to pronouncements on foreign policy in the British and French parliaments. In the debate on February 21st, Mr. Chamberlain said the League, as now constituted, could not provide collective security for anyone; he would not, however, abandon it or change a single article. If the "two pairs of nations" (England, France and Germany, Italy) could reach a settlement, European peace might be saved for a generation. That, he explained, did not imply a Four-Power pact.

In the debate in the French Chamber

(February 25th-27th) the Government, which had just received renewed assurances through the British Ambassador, sought to dispel the impression that Great Britain was diverging from the Entente towards the "axis." The debate showed general aversion to a Four-Power Pact, and less general support for the Franco–Soviet alliance which some thought incompatible with Franco–British co-operation. M. Delbos having declared Austria's independence essential to European equilibrium, rejected ideas of hegemony in the Danube region, or interference based on racial kinship, and pledged France to fulfil her engagements to Czechoslovakia, the Chamber, by an immense majority, approved this policy.

ANGLO-ITALIAN CONVERSATIONS

Communiqués issued in London and Rome on February 21st announced the acceptance, on either hand, of the British plan for the withdrawal of "volunteers" from Spain and of Italy's request of February 10th for the opening of the Anglo-Italian conversations suggested in July, 1937; Mr. Chamberlain favoured accepting the request, on the understanding that a solution must be reached in the Spanish question and that any arrangement regarding Ethiopia must be approved by the League. Mr. Eden differed, considering the acceptance as precipitate. On February 20th he resigned, and was succeeded on February 25th by Lord Halifax. The House of Commons having endorsed the Prime Minister's policy (February 22nd), diplomatic preparations proceeded and a first meeting between Lord Perth and Count Ciano took place at Rome on March 8th.

The French Government had been kept informed from the outset regarding the proposed conversations and were in agreement as to the points for discussion. Delbos stated in the French Chamber (February 26th) that if the discussions succeeded, France might embark on similar conversations subject to guarantees concerning Spain and the Mediterranean. Reports that Italy was demanding a share in the defence of the Suez Canal were denied by the Italian government on February 26th.

Mr. Chamberlain stated on February 21st that his Government desired conversations with Germany also. On March 10th Sir N. Henderson had a preliminary discussion with Herr Hitler and Herr von Ribbentrop. The events in Austria followed two days later.

THE FAR EAST

After four weeks' rapid marching and fighting, the Japanese claimed (March 10th) to have completed the conquest of Shansi. Their troops had reached the Yellow River, which they were preparing to cross, west of Cheng-Chow, threatening important East-West communications. On February 24th, Chinese air forces raided the island of Formosa.

NAVAL ARMAMENTS

Japan had replied (February 12th) to the British, French and American requests for an assurance regarding her naval programme, objecting to giving information, which—not having signed the London Treaty—she was not bound to furnish, or to discuss qualitative apart from quantitative limitations. An official statement issued in Tokyo on the same date said—in the English text—that if the leading Powers increased their naval armaments on the assumption that the treaty limits were being exceeded Japan must alter her building plans accordingly. In Washington, the Japanese reply was regarded as confirming the reports that the treaty limits were being exceeded, and as necessitating consultation between the treaty Powers, whose experts accordingly met in London on March 1st.

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